HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Volume IX Number 1/2 June 1985

Ukrainian Research Institute
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Publication of this issue has been subsidized by
a bequest from the estate of Juchim and Tetiana Pryjmak,
benefactors of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc.

Published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Typography by the Computer Based Laboratory, Harvard University,
and Chiron, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Printed by Cushing-Malloy Lithographers, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized? 5
OMELJAN PRITSAK

Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question 25
DAVID A. FRICK

The Ruthenian Language of Meletij Smotryc'kyj: Phonology 53
STEFAN M. PUGH

The 1652 Beauplan Maps of the Ukraine 61
A. B. PERNAL and D. F. ESSAR

The Reality of the Narrator: Typological Features of Ševčenko's Prose 85
VLADIMIR GITIN

Soviet Jewish Territorial Units and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations 118
ALLAN L. KAGEDAN

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Hussar: A Few Observations on Gogol's Characters and Their *Vertep* Prototypes 133
GAVRIEL SHAPIRO

Ukrainian-Jewish Intermarriages in Rural Areas of the Ukraine in the Nineteenth Century 139
MIKHAIL AGURSKY

DOCUMENTS

The *Antimaxia* of 1632 and the Polemics over Uniate-Orthodox Relations 145
PAULINA LEWIN and FRANK E. SYSYN

"Dulce est et fumos videre Patriae"—Four Letters by Simiaon Połacki 166
PETER A. ROLLAND

REVIEW ARTICLES

The Origins of the Zaporozhian Cossacks: Apropos of a Recent Study 182
BOHDAN A. STRUMINSKY

Two New Editions of Semenko 198
OLEH S. ILNYTZKYJ

REVIEWS

Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, eds., *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question,* vol. 1: *Church Slavonic—South Slavic—West Slavic,* and vol. 2: *East Slavic* (Horace G. Lunt) 204

Gerhard Podskalsky, *Christentum und Theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237)* (Paul Bushkovitch) 206

Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel, *Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i Kozaczyzny od schyłku XVI do połowy XVII w.* (David A. Frick) 208

Władysław Serczyk, *Na dalekiej Ukrainie: Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 roku* (Frank E. Sysyn) 210

Nickolas Lupinin, *Religious Revolt in the Seventeenth Century: The Schism of the Russian Church* (Georg Michels) 212

David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750–1850* (Olga A. Andriewsky) 214

Lubomyr R. Wynar, *Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj: Biobibliographische Quelle 1866–1934* (James E. Mace) 217

Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, ed., *Communism in Eastern Europe* (Andrei S. Markovits) 218

Stephan M. Horak, ed., *Eastern European National Minorities, 1919-1980: A Handbook* (James E. Mace) 221

Alexander Vucinich, *The Empire of Knowledge: The Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1917–1970)* (James E. Mace) 222

Titus D. Hewryk, *The Lost Architecture of Kiev* (Michael S. Flier) 223

BOOKS RECEIVED 226

CONTRIBUTORS

Omeljan Pritsak is Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi Professor of Ukrainian History and director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

David A. Frick is assistant professor of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of California, Berkeley.

Stefan Pugh is assistant professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Duke University.

A. B. Pernal is associate professor of history at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba.

D. F. Essar is associate professor of French at Brandon University.

Vladimir Gitin is a Ph.D. candidate in Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University.

Allan L. Kagedan is a policy analyst in International Relations with the American Jewish Committee, New York, and a participant in Columbia University's Seminar on Soviet Nationality Problems.

Gavriel Shapiro is assistant professor in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Northern Illinois University.

Mikhail Agursky is a research associate of the Soviet and East European Center at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Paulina Lewin is a research associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

Frank E. Sysyn is associate director of the Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.

Peter A. Rolland is associate professor of Slavic and East European studies at the University of Alberta.

Bohdan A. Struminsky is a research associate of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University.

Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj is assistant professor of Slavic and East European studies at the University of Alberta.

When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?[1]

OMELJAN PRITSAK

I

The question of when and where the Rus' queen Ol'ga was baptized has puzzled scholars up to the present day. As recently as 1979 to 1984, four scholars—one French, one British, one Russian, and one American—have attempted to provide a definitive answer. They have not succeeded: indeed, they have arrived at mutually exclusive conclusions.[2] The root of all this difficulty is that the relevant sources contain ambiguous and contradictory statements.

[1] This paper was presented at the III World Congress for Slavic and East European Studies (Washington, D.C.), at session 12: "The Christianization of Rus'," which was sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and was held on 3 November 1985.

[2] Jean-Pierre Arrignon, "Les relations internationales de la Russie Kiévienne au milieu du X^{e} siècle et le baptême de la princesse Olga," *Occident et Orient au X^{e} siècle. Actes du IX^{e} Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes des l'Enseignement Supérieur Public, Dijon, 2–4 juin 1978*, Publications de l'Université de Dijon, 57 (Paris, 1979), pp. 167–84; the Russian version is: Ž.-P. Arin'on, "Meždunarodnye otnošenija Kievskoj Rusi X v. i kreščenie knjagini Ol'gi," *Vizantijskij vremennik* (Moscow), 41 (1980): 113–24; cf. also idem, "Les relations diplomatiques entre Byzance et la Russie de 860 à 1043," *Revue des études slaves* (Paris), 55, no. 1 (1983): 129–37.

According to the author, Ol'ga visited Constantinople in 957 on commercial matters and at that time was granted two receptions by the emperor. Arrignon maintains, however, that she was baptized in Kiev at the end of 959.

Dimitri Obolensky, "Russia and Byzantium in the Mid-Tenth Century: The Problem of the Baptism of Princess Olga," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28, no. 2 (1983): 157–71. According to Obolensky, both of Ol'ga's receptions in Constantinople took place in 957, while she was still a pagan. Her political and commercial mission there was a failure, and therefore "the question of the time and place of Ol'ga's baptism remains an open one" (p. 171).

Gennadij Georgievič Litavrin, "Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol. Problema istočnikov," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 42 (1981): 35–48; idem, "O datirovke posol'stva knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'," *Istorija SSSR*, 1981, no. 5, pp. 173–83. Litavrin, who dates Olga's two audiences to 946 (see fn. 24), was unable to make up his mind about the year and the place of Ol'ga's baptism.

See also the chapter "Diplomatija knjagini Ol'gi," in A. N. Saxarov, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi IX–pervaja polovina X v.* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 259–98.

In this country, Professor Ellen Hurwitz of Lafayette College is working on Ol'ga's biography. In her presentation at the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University on 10 May 1984, she tentatively set Constantinople and the year 959 as the place and date, respectively, of Ol'ga's baptism.

Three groups of sources have come down to us. The first group comprises two Byzantine sources, one contemporary with the event and the other later in date but generally considered reliable. The second group consists of the contemporary Lothringian (Lorraine) Chronicle, and the third, of two later Rus' sources.

The most detailed account is that found in the second book of *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae.* That second book was written under the auspices of the learned Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (944–959). It describes ceremonies held during the two visits of the Rus' queen Ol'ga/Helga/Helen to Constantinople. The first reception, which took place on Wednesday, September 9, is described in full detail. The second, occurring on Sunday, October 18, is dealt with briefly.[3]

Although the relevant texts of the *De cerimoniis* specified the exact day of the month and even the day of the week, they failed to provide the information most important to us, namely, in what year, or years, Ol'ga's two visits took place.

During the reign of Constantine VII—i.e., between 16 December 944 and 9 November 959—September 9 fell on a Wednesday and October 18 fell on a Sunday only twice: in 946, and again in 957.[4]

Ioannes Skylitzes, a high military officer, wrote his history of the Byzantine emperors (encompassing the years 811 to 1057) most probably in the last quarter of the eleventh century. He is credited by modern scholars as careful and trustworthy in his reference to earlier sources. Skylitzes writes:[5]

§6.*Καὶ ἡ τοῦ ποτε κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκπλεύσαντος ἄρχοντος τῶν Ῥῶς γαμετή, Ἔλγα τοὔνομα, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος παρεγένετο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Καὶ βαπτισθεῖσα καὶ προαίρεσιν εἰλικρινοῦς ἐπιδεικνυμένη πίστεως, ἀξίως τιμηθεῖσα*	§6. The wife of the archont of the Rus' [Igor'] who at some previous past had sailed against the Romans (Byzantines), Helga by name, after her husband passed away, arrived in Constantinople. Having been baptized and having shown resolve for the true faith, she was honored

[3] Ed. Johannes Jacob Reiske, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1829), pp. 594–98.
[4] Cf. Litavrin in *Istorija SSSR,* 1981, no. 5, p. 174.
[5] *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum,* Editio princeps, ed. Johannes Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 240.

τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐπ' οἶκον ἀνέδραμε.	in a manner worthy of that resolve and returned home.

Skylitzes often gathered data from various sources and retold it in abridged form. Hence, this excerpt from his account, which consists of two separate sentences, could have combined data from two different records, each of which referred to one specific visit of Ol'ga/Helga to Constantinople.

In presenting his history of individual emperors—in this case, of Constantine VII—Skylitzes organized his material topically, devoting two or more paragraphs to each subject. Each topic he treated, insofar as possible, chronologically. Helga's visit (§6) is mentioned just after the visits of two Hungarian leaders: Βουλοσουδῆσ/Βουλτζοῦς (Bulcsú; ca. 948) and Γυλᾶς (Gyula; ca. 952) (§5). The remainder of the two paragraphs following the account deal with barbarian visitors who eventually embraced Christianity.

One can speculate that the first sentence in Skylitzes (§6) refers to a visit by the pagan Ol'ga/Helga shortly after the death of her husband Igor' (ca. 945), when his naval expedition of 941 would still have been well remembered in Constantinople (that memory would hardly have been vivid sixteen years later, in 957). The second sentence, on the other hand, could have been taken from an account of Ol'ga's baptism.

The Lothringian Chronicle was composed by the continuator of Abbot Regino of Prüm, who is generally identified as Adalbert of Trier. Adalbert himself took part in the Rus' mission of 961–962, before becoming archbishop of Magdeburg. A cycle of information about that Rus' mission exists, for the years 959, 960, 961, and 962.[6]

The data from the entry under the year 959 are crucial for us here. The relevant text reads:

959. . .Legati Helenae reginae Rugorum, quae sub Romano imperatore Constantinopolitano Constantinopoli baptisata est,	959. . .The envoys of Helen, the Queen of the Rugi[7] who was baptized in Constantinople under Romanos, Emperor of Constantinople,

[6] "Adalberts Fortsetzung der Chronik Reginos," ed. Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit* (Darmstadt, 1971), pp. 214–19.

[7] I discuss the (Ripuar Frankish) form of the Rus' name *Rug-* in the article "The Origin of the Name Rūs/Rus'," forthcoming in the *Festschrift Bennigsen* (Paris).

ficte, ut post claruit, ad regem venientes episcopum et presbiteros eidem genti ordinari petebant.[8]	having come to the king [Otto I], requested, spuriously, as it turned out later, to ordain a bishop and priests for their people (*gens*).

By the end of the same year, Otto I had responded positively to Ol'ga's request, by ordering that Libutius be consecrated the first missionary-bishop of the Rus'. This occurred in 960 (entry for that year). Libutius, however, was for unknown reasons detained, and then died suddenly, on 15 February 961. Adalbert of the Benedictine St. Maximin Monastery at Trier was selected to become the second missionary-bishop for the Rus' (entry for 961). Adalbert did go to Rus', but after a short stay there was obliged to return home empty-handed (entry for 962).

The last entry in the chronicle of Regino's continuator Adalbert is for the year 967. In 966, after his Rus' adventure, Adalbert became abbot of the Weissenburg Monastery in neighboring Alsace-Lorraine. Then, having been entrusted with the archdiocese of Magdeburg (Otto I intended for Magdeburg to become the base for German missionary activity to the pagan Slavs),[9] Adalbert left Alsace-Lorraine for the imperial east. His chronicle entry for 959 was written not in that year, but later, after the failure of the Rus' mission: this is clear from the text's *ficte, ut post claruit* 'spuriously, as it turned out later'. The story about the Rus' mission must have been edited no earlier than the second half of 962 (the year of Adalbert's return from Rus'). It is remarkable that in Adalbert's presentation Romanus II, who died on 15 March 963,[10] is referred to as the current Byzantine ruler.[11]

8 Adalbert, "Continuatio Reginonis," in Albert Bauer and Reinhold Rau, *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, p. 214.

9 On Otto I and his missionary activity, see Ernst Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse* (Leipzig, 1876; 2nd ed. 1962); R. Holtzmann, *Otto der Grosse* (Berlin, 1936); P. Kehr, *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg und die erste Organisation der christlichen Kirche in Polen* (Berlin, 1920); A. Brackmann, *Magdeburg als Hauptstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1937); John J. Gallager, *Church and State in Germany under Otto the Great, 936–973* (Washington, D.C., 1938); W. Schlesinger, *Kirchengeschichte Sachsens im Mittelalter* (Cologne and Graz, 1962); L. Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des Ottonisch-Salischen Kirchensystems* (Vienna, 1964).

10 About the chronological data mentioned here and in the next two paragraphs, see V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*, vol. 1: *La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 358.

11 Not surprisingly, several late Old Rus' texts—the first known to me being the "Russkij xronograf" edited in the year 1512, and another, the "Xronograf of the year 1617" ("the second Russian redaction")—name Ol'ga's host, the Byzantine emperor, as "Romanus": "Pri sem" cari Roman" v" lěto 6463 krestisja Ol'ga."

Since Adalbert himself visited Rus' in 961–962 and surely met with Ol'ga/Helga there, two pieces of his information must be accepted as fact: first, that the Rus' queen was baptized in Constantinople, and second, that Ol'ga's baptismal name was Helen, which was also the name of the then ruling empress, the wife of Constantine VII. But Adalbert's naming of the Byzantine ruler who witnessed Ol'ga's conversion demands explanation. Had Ol'ga been baptized during the sole rule of Romanus II, her baptismal name would have been not Helen, but Theophano, the name of Romanus II's wife. Simple chronology also refutes any such possibility. Romanus II succeeded his father, who died on 9 November 959, and became emperor on 10 November 959. It would have been impossible for Ol'ga/Helga to arrive in Constantinople, be baptized there, return home, and send her envoys to Otto so that they arrived there still in 959.

An explanation for Adalbert's phrasing can be proposed, however. Romanus II was crowned already on 6 April 945, and held the title of *basileus* from that time, during the remaining years of his father's reign. Therefore it is feasible that Constantine VII, occupied with his literary work, delegated Romanus II, his son and co-emperor, to represent him at the ceremony of Ol'ga's baptism by the patriarch. Adalbert's information would then be not only correct, but also based on an insider's knowledge, as a prelate who was a close collaborator of Otto I, the friend of Constantine VII (see pp. 20–21, below).

The Rus' primary chronicle, the *Povĕst vremennyx lĕt'* (= *PVL*), has as the date of Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople the year A.M. 6463 = A.D. 954–955.[12] But this information was not original: it was simply borrowed from *Pamjat' i poxvala knjazju ruskomu Volodimeru*, by Jakov Mnix (the Monk) of Al'ta.

See Andrej Popov, *Obzor xronografov russkoj redakcii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1866), p. 176, and vol. 2 (Moscow, 1869), pp. 259, 271.

As a curiosity one can add that the name "Romanus" was also in the "Spaso-Jaroslavskij xronograf" (lost in 1812), part of a miscellany which also included the famous *Igor' Tale*. See G. N. Moiseeva, *Spaso-Jaroslavskij xronograf i Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1984), pp. 40–41.

The name "Romanus" also appears in the *Mazurinskij letopisec* (see fn. 31 below).

12 *PVL*, ed. Lixačev, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 44–46.

Jakov ca. 1070 completed a chronology of the saintly rulers of Rus'.[13] He established the first exact date in the history of the Rus' dynasty: 11 July A.M. 6477 = A.D. 969, the date of Ol'ga's death. Jakov also corroborates the information by Adalbert—a source certainly unknown to him—that the Rus' queen was baptized in Constantinople and that her baptismal name was Olena (Helen). He also made a chronological statement concerning the date of the baptism, although there he used the "round number" 15: he stated that Ol'ga lived as a Christian for "15 years." The editors of the *PVL* took this piece of information literally: counting backwards (subtracting 15 from 6477) they arrived at the year A.M. 6463 = A.D. 955 as the date of Ol'ga's conversion in Constantinople (6477, 6476, 6475, 6474, 6473, 6472, 6471, 6470, 6469, 6468, 6467, 6466, 6465, 6464, 6463). In short, the year A.M. 6463 = A.D. 955 as the date of Ol'ga's journey to Constantinople and conversion there was computed artificially and hence has no validity.

We should keep in mind that apart from the two dates taken from Jakov—one exact (A.M. 6477 = A.D. 969) and one deduced (A.M. 6463 = A.D. 955)—the editors of the *PVL* knew very little about Ol'ga's rule. The usual, artificial triad of years after Igor's treaty (and his presumed death)—that is, the years A.D. 945 through 947 (A.M. 6453–6455)—is marked by Ol'ga's epic revenges and legal reforms, but the remaining sixteen years of her rule, from A.D. 948 to 964 (A.M. 6456–6472) are "empty years" (V lěto 6456, V lěto 6457, V lěto 6458, V lěto 6459, V lěto 6460, etc.), with the single exception of the entry under discussion, for A.D. 955 (A.M. 6463).[14]

Just as there were two Olegs in the Rus' chronicle tradition (esp. the *PVL*)—Oleg, the historical king of Rus', and Oleg the Seer, the epic hero[15]—so there were also two Ol'gas: Ol'ga/Helen (Olena), the historical queen of Rus', and Ol'ga/Vol'ga the Wise, the cunning and vindictive epic heroine. Hence, we must distinguish the deeds of the two personages, that is, we must separate the historically valid oral traditions from the epic stories and legends.

[13] The text is given by Evgenij Golubinskij in his *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*, vol. 1:1, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1901), pp. 238–45; the passages dealing with Ol'ga are on pp. 241–42. Cf. A. A. Zimin, "Pamjat' i poxvala Iakova Mnixa i žitie knjazja Vladimira po drevnejšemu spisku," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija*, vol. 37 (Moscow, 1963), pp. 66–75, especially p. 70.

[14] *PVL*, ed. Lixačev (see fn. 12), pp. 40–49.

[15] O. Pritsak, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 142–53.

The Actions of Ol'ga the Queen	*The Deeds of Helga the Wise*
1. After Igor's violent death, his queen reorganizes the state's administrative affairs and system of taxation (s.a. A.M. 6454 and the end of 6455);	1. Stories about Ol'ga's three (or four, depending on what version of the chronicle is read) revenges for her husband Igor''s death, embellished with a set of anecdotes based on the Varangian war stratagems (s.a. A.M. 6453–6454);
2. Ol'ga travels to Constantinople, to be baptized by the patriarch (s.a. A.M. 6463);	2. Story about an unnamed Byzantine emperor as both Ol'ga's baptizer and suitor, and the ways Ol'ga the Wise outwitted him (s.a. A.M. 6463);
3. Ol'ga receives the baptismal name of Helen (< Olena; s.a. A.M. 6463).	3. Story about an unnamed Byzantine emperor sending envoys with gifts to Ol'ga and her humiliation of them in revenge for her alleged mistreatment in Constantinople (s.a. A.M. 6463).
4. In conversation with the patriarch, Ol'ga expresses fear of the reaction to her conversion of her pagan son and people ("ljud'e moi pagani i syn" moj, daby mja bog" s"bljul" ot vsjakogo zla"; s.a. A.M. 6463).[16]	

We should add a third set of factors: that of hagiographic elements elaborated in the chronicle's entry for A.M. 6465:

1. Ol'ga's baptismal name, Helen, was adopted after that of the wife of Constantine I, the first Christian Roman emperor (s.a. A.M. 6463).

2. Ol'ga came to Constantinople seeking divine wisdom, and in doing so she surpassed the Old Testament's Queen of Ethiopia (Sheba), who set out to test the wisdom of King Solomon (s.a. A.M. 6463).

3. Ol'ga was a precursor of Volodimer's baptism of Rus' (s.a. A.M. 6495).[17]

16 *PVL*, ed. Lixačev (see fn. 12), p. 44.

17 "Ašče by lix" zakon" greč'skij, to ne by baba tvoja prijala, Ol'ga, jaže bě mudrějši vsěx čelověk"," *PVL*, ed. Lixačev (see fn. 12), p. 75.

In evaluating the data of the Rus' tradition scholars did not pay sufficient attention to one very important piece of information contained in the *PVL*: namely, that Ol'ga's baptismal voyage to Constantinople was directed not to the person of the emperor, but to that of the patriarch. Scholars have wondered why Constantine VII described the ceremonial aspects of the two visits of Ol'ga/Helga without mentioning her conversion or her Christian name Helen. The answer is very simple: Ol'ga arranged her personal religious act not with the emperor, but with the patriarch of Constantinople.

II

As mentioned above, Constantine VII describes Ol'ga's two visits to Constantinople, one of which took place on Wednesday, the 9th of September, and the other on Sunday, the 18th of October. There are several discrepancies in his descriptions of Ol'ga's two receptions. First, there is a difference in the numbers of Ol'ga's entourage on the two occasions:[18]

Entourage	*September 9th*	*October 18th*
Envoys (ἀποκρισιάριοι)	20	22
Merchants (πραγματευταί)	43	44
Ladies-in-waiting (ἴδιοι)	6	16

Although on both occasions Ol'ga was accompanied by her husband's nephew (apparently named Igor', styled in the treaty of A.D. 944 as: [Igor'] net' Igorev''),[19] only for the first visit is there a mention of envoys of Svjatoslav, her minor son and the official ruler of Rus' (οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ Σφενδοσθλάβου).

Apparently Ol'ga did not have official business with the emperor on her second visit, on October 18, since her official translator (ὁ ἑρμηνεὺς τῆς ἀρχοντίσσης), named on the occasion of the visit on September 9, when the Rus' archontíssa is said to have conferred with the Byzantine ruler, was absent on October 18.

Chapter 15 of the second book of *De cerimoniis*, the conclusion of which contains information about the ceremonies conducted during the two receptions for "Ol'ga the Rhōsenē" (δοχὴ τῆς Ἔλγας

[18] *De cerimoniis*, ed. J. J. Reiske, vol. 1 (see fn. 3); reception on September 9 (pp. 594–98) and on October 18 (p. 598).
[19] See *PVL*, ed. Lixačev (see fn. 12), p. 34.

τῆς Ῥωσένης),[20] was either written down or edited by Constantine VII himself.[21] The chapter, which consists of an introduction and five subchapters, each describing the ceremonies performed to honor the non-Christian visitors, has recently been analyzed by G. G. Litavrin.[22]

The royal author wrote his account as a detailed description of the ceremonies, not as a discussion of state matters. The central setting for his descriptions was the Great Palace with its many magnificent halls, in the first instance the Magnaura with its throne of Solomon, artificial singing birds and roaring lions, the Triclinium of Justinian (II), and the Chrysotriclinium. The date of chapter 15 is organized more or less chronologically, by days of the year.

In describing one series of ceremonies, Constantine twice inserts digressions about similar events on the occasion of another reception, namely, that of the Omeiyad Spanish envoys. The result is that his account is mingled with the story of the ceremonies conducted upon the arrival of envoys from Muslim Tarsus in northern Syria.

I suggest that the short description of the second reception of the Rus' queen, on October 18, was appended to the longer description of the events of her first visit on September 9 only because the important part of the second visit took place in the Chrysotriclinium, as did the finale of the ceremonies during the first visit.

The events of September 9 and October 18 did not, however, take place in the same year. Since during the reign of Constantine VII, only two years—946 and 957—matched the textual day, week, and month (Sunday, October 18, and Wednesday, September 9) of his descriptions, the first reception must have taken place in the year 946, and the second in the year 957.

Having conducted a precise analysis of the dates and events as they are presented in *De cerimoniis*, G. G. Litavrin proved that Ol'ga's main visit to Constantinople, on September 9, a Wednesday, must have taken place in the year 946 (during the fourth

[20] See the table of contents to Constantine's *De cerimoniis*, ed. J. J. Reiske, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1830), pp. 510–11.
[21] See Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), pp. 380–81.
[22] Litavrin, "Putešestvie. . .Ol'gi," pp. 42–44.

indiction).[23] This means that Ol'ga's second visit to Constantinople, that on October 18, a Sunday, took place in 957.[24]

Further confirmation of the year 946 as that of Ol'ga's first journey to Constantinople is the statement of Skylitzes that Helga (Ol'ga) of Rus' arrived in Constantinople following the death of her husband (*τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος*),[25] Igor', who was killed in ca. 945. At that time it was politically necessary for the Rus' queen to renew ties with Constantinople. Igor', the first member of the Rus' dynasty to go south and conquer Kiev, had the primary goal of gaining control over the recently established trade route "from the Varangians to the Greeks (Constantinople)." Shortly before his violent death at the hands of his adversaries, Igor' concluded an important trade treaty with the Byzantine emperors. Since in the Middle Ages all treaties were valid only as long as the signatories themselves were alive, on Igor's death the Rus' polity badly needed the renewal of that vital contract.

Ol'ga's request, directed to Otto I, that he send a bishop and clergymen to Rus' is dated to the summer of 959. There is no reason to doubt this chronology. The request must have been made after Ol'ga's conversion, but not long after it. The two acts must have been part of one and the same plan. From this perspective, October 18 (957) as the date of Ol'ga/Helga's conversion best fits the requisite time sequence.

Sailing from Constantinople to Kiev took ca. 35–45 days.[26] Ol'ga should have returned home by the end of November 957. During 958 Ol'ga must have discussed with her advisors and with the leading men of Rus' (especially the retinue) the introduction of a church organization in Rus'. The result was that already in the autumn of the same year, Ol'ga dispatched her envoys to

[23] Litavrin, "Putešestvie. . .Ol'gi," pp. 46–48; idem, "O datirovke," pp. 179–83.

[24] G. G. Litavrin (see fn. 2) insists that Ol'ga traveled to Constantinople only once, and that both receptions (that of September 9 and that of October 18) took place in the same year, namely, 946.

[25] See fn. 5. Cf. also Johannes Zonaras (the first half of the twelfth century), *Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, ed. by Mauricius Pinder (Bonn, 1897), p. 485:

καὶ ἡ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκπλεύσαντος Ῥῶς γαμετὴ Ἕλγα, τοῦ ξυνευνέτου αὐτῆς τελευτήσαντος, προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ βαπτισθεῖσα τιμηθεῖσά τε, ὡς ἐχρῆν ἐπενόστησεν.

On the value of his data, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1:344–45.

[26] See N. N. Voronin, "Sredstva i puti soobščenija," in B. D. Grekov and M. I. Artamonov, eds., *Istorija kul'tury drevnej Rusi*, vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1951), p. 286.

Frankfurt-am-Main; they arrived there in the early summer of 959.

III

All Old Rus' Chronicles and other texts, except for one, give the "canonical" date of A.M. 6463 (A.D. 955) for Ol'ga's baptism. The source of that dating was—as shown above—the approximate computation done by Jakov Mnix (ca. 1070). The exception is a Novgorodian abbreviated chronicle from the second half of the sixteenth century, quoted by F. Giljarov, where the year A.M. 6466 (A.D. 957–958) occurs instead: "V lěto 6466 ide Olga v" Car'grad" i krestisja ot" patriarxa i ot" carja, a car' bo xotjaše za sebe, i narečena byst' vo svjatom" kreščenii Elena." [27]

If one takes into consideration that in Novgorod—beginning with the thirteenth century—the system of ultra-March dating was in use (see N. G. Berežkov, *Xronologija russkogo letopisanija* [Moscow, 1963], pp. 27, 37, 39), one can explain A.M. 6466 as the ultra-March version of the March-year A.M. 6465 (A.D. 956–957). Since in Kievan chronicle writing the ultra-March-system was unknown until the 1150s, and only the March-system was in use (Berežkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 55), the older source must have had the date A.M. 6465.

This is precisely the date for Ol'ga's baptism at which I arrived above, on the basis of an analysis of the data of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's work: October A.D. 957.

Cesare Baronio (Baronius, d. 1607) has in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* (see the appendix, pp. 22–23) the year A.D. 958 as the date of Ol'ga's baptism. This puzzling year which has never been understood, now has a plausible explanation: Baronio was also using a source with the ultra-March system of dating, where October A.M. 6466 in fact corresponded to October A.D. 958. (Cf. also the appendix, the concluding paragraph, p. 24.)

An indirect corroboration for the year 957 as the date of Ol'ga's second visit to Constantinople and that of her conversion is found in the Hustyn Chronicle. Unfortunately, the text of the original Hustyn Chronicle has not come down to us. What has survived are two (reworked?) redactions from the seventeenth century. One of

[27] F. Giljarov, *Predanija russkoj načal'noj letopisi* (Moscow, 1878), p. 260a. Concerning the Novgorodian abbreviated chronicle ("Novgorodskaja V letopis'") see Aleksej A. Šaxmatov, *Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), p. 196.

these, made in 1670, was published; the editor was the heiromonk Myxajlo Losyc'kyj of the Hustyn Monastery, located near Pryluky in the Černihiv polk—hence the text's "learned" name.[28] The text retells the story of Ol'ga outwitting the Byzantine emperor, as related in the Kievan Primary Chronicle of the Hypatian type (the emperor is named *Konstantin syn Leonov*). It also contains two extraordinary additions:[29]

(1) *i kresti ju sam" patriarxa Polievkt"* 'and she was baptized by the patriarch Polyeuctus in person';

(2) *Zonaras" glagolet", jako togda Theofylakt" bě patriarx"* 'Zonaras [Ioannes, the Byzantine chronicler of the first half of the twelfth century] says that at that time Theophylactus was patriarch'.[30]

[28] "Gustinskaja lětopis'," in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 2, pt. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1843). On the Hustyn Chronicle, see Myxajlo Marčenko, "Hustyns'kyj litopys," in *Radjans'ka encyklopedija istoriji Ukrajiny*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1969), pp. 494–95, and Olena Apanovyč, *Rukopisnaja svetskaja kniga XVIII v. na Ukraine. Istoričeskie sborniki* (Kiev, 1983), pp. 66–77.

[29] See the appendix, pp. 22–24.

[30] Zonaras was certainly right (see fn. 25), as was Baronio, since in 955 (the date of Ol'ga's baptism taken by the Hustyn Chronicle from the *PVL*) the name of the patriarch of Constantinople was in fact Theophylactus. It is clear, then, that the Hustyn Chronicle took its information from two sources: the year of Ol'ga's baptism from one source, the *PVL*; and the name of the patriarch who baptized Ol'ga from another, which remains uncertain.

There is also confusion in the Old Rus' chronicles about the name of the Byzantine emperor whom Ol'ga visited. While chronicles of the Hypatian type correctly give the name of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Laurentian text of the *PVL* names, anachronistically, John I Tzimisces (969–976): "cr' imjanem' Cěm'skii." See *PSRL*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., by E. F. Karskij (Leningrad, 1926–28), col. 60. There is a logical explanation: the Laurentian Chronicle replaced the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the story of Ol'ga's visit by John Tzimisces (b. 924), who became emperor in the year of Ol'ga's death (969). The Byzantine ruler, with whom the crafty Ol'ga had dealings, must have been, in the view of the Old Rus' literati, her equal, as was the robust soldier John Tzimisces, the later pacifier of Svjatoslav. The weak Constantine seemed to them unworthy of acceptance as Ol'ga's partner. On the name "Romanus," see fn. 11.

Marcin Kromer (see the appendix, pp. 23–24) repeats the Laurentian data (Tzimisces), and the author of the Hustyn Chronicle—who apparently did not have access to a chronicle of the Laurentian type—found it necessary to add this information at the end of his presentation: "Kromer" hlaholet", jako za carstvo Ioanna Zamosky Olha krestysja" (*PSRL*, vol. 2, p. 244).

We do not know where the original author of the Hustyn Chronicle got his information;[31] one possible source was the fragmented collection of manuscripts held in the Cave Monastery in Kiev. But since the author undertook to polemicize with Zonaras, who puts Ol'ga's baptism *before* the death of Theophylactus, he must have had some basis for his assertion, which disagrees with the dating of the Primary Chronicle.

The editors of the first edition of the Hypatian Chronicle, who in 1843 appended the Hustyn Chronicle to volume 2 of the *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, found it necessary to add after the Hustyn Chronicle's "Polievkt"" the following comment: "In almost all the Rus' chronicles the year of Ol'ga's baptism is given as A.M. 6463, or A.D. 955; in that case the patriarch Polyeuctus, who was consecrated on 3 April 956. . ., could not have been her baptizer,

[31] The earliest Polish chroniclers, the so-called Gallus Anonymus (fl. 1112–1116) and Magister Vincentius ("Kadłubek," d. 1223), have no data for the history of Rus' in the tenth century.

Jan Długosz (1415–1480) was the first Polish chronicler to include early Kievan history, in the chapter "Polonorum origines fabulosae" of his annals of the Polish kingdom. There he says: "Olha Constantinopolim, imperante aput Grecos Czemisky [<PVL of the Laurentian tradition], a patriarcha Constantinopolitano in fide Christiana edocta, supersticione gentilium relicta, baptisma accepit barbaroque nomine mutato, pro Olha Helena appellatur"; the year is not given (*Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. Jan Dąbrowski, vols. 1–2 [Warsaw, 1964], p. 122).

Like Długosz, Maciej Stryjkowski (1547, d. after 1582), the Polish historian most popular among Ukrainian literati of the seventeenth century, presents an account of Ol'ga's baptism on the basis of the *PVL* of the Laurentian type. He names the emperor as "Jan Zemiski," and gives the baptism's date as A.M. 6463 = A.D. 955 (*Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiéj Rusi*, 2nd ed., by Mikołaj Malinowski, vol. 1 [Warsaw, 1846], p. 120).

Interestingly enough, Zaxarija Kopystens'kyj (d. 1627), who has been proposed as the author of the Hustyn Chronicle by several scholars (especially A. Jeršov), gives in his *Palinodija* (ca. 1620–1622) completely different data concerning the "fourth" baptism, i.e., that of Ol'ga: "Potom" okolo roku 935, za carja Konstantyna Osmoho y za patriarxy Theofylakta, jak" Hreckij ystoryk" Ioann" Zonaras" v" tretem" tomî pyšet", a druhij zas', beručy to z" Roskyx" lîtopyscov"—za carja Ioanna Cemysky a za patriarxy Vasylija Skamandrena, okolo roku 970 povîdajut" y pyšut", yž" caryca Olha. . .priîxala do Konstantynopolja do carja Ioanna Cemysky, kotoruju patriarxa z" mnohymy bojarŷ okrestyl", Helenoju nazval"" [on the margin of one source is noted: Zonaras", lyst" 116]. Here the year "935," which occurs in both the edition by P. A. Gil'tebrant published in the *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1878), col. 972, and the "Pomorian MS" presently held in the library of the University of Michigan (p. 405), is apparently a clerical error in which a 3 was substituted for the first 5 in 955 (cf. the appendix, p. 23). The year "970" relates to John Tzimisces, who ruled 969–976.

as it is said in G.M. and A. [acronyms for the then known manuscripts of the Hustyn Chronicle].''[32]

[32] *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg, 1843), p. 244. Only two other texts known to me mention Patriarch Polyeuctus in connection with Ol'ga's baptism. These are the Kievan *Sinopsis* (the first extant edition: Kiev, 1674), and the *Mazurinskij letopisec* (last quarter of the seventeenth century):

Sinopsis	*Mazurinskij letopisec*
A.M. 6463 - A.D. 955 . . .Velýkaja knjahýnja Kíevskaja, y vsejà Róssiy Ólha, z velýkym'' ymîniem'' v'' strόy naročýtom'' korablmy pójde k'' Cary- hrádu y pryšédšy s'' Rúskymy boljárŷ y dvórjánŷ pred lycè Késara Hréčeskaho, po Strijkóvskoho svîdytel'stvu, Ioanna Zemýsky, yly Cymýsxija, a po Lîtopisániju prepodobnaho Néstora Pečérskaho [a chronicle of the Hypatian type], Kon- stantýna Leónova sŷna. . .	A.M. 6463. . .Togo že godu velikaja knjaginja i vsea Rusii Ol'ga s velikim imeniem vstroi naročitom karable i poide k Carjugradu, i prišed s ruskimi bojary i dvorjany v Car'grad. Pri grečeskix carex [*sic*] pri Romane krestisja vo imja otca i syna i svjatago duxa
Tohda Patriárx Caryhrádskij Poliévkt, a po svîdýtel'stvu Lîtopýsca Zonárŷ, Theofilákt''. . .dano jej ymjà Eléna. . .	ot patriarxa Poluexta, i narečennaja byst' Elena . . .
(*Sinopsis. Kiev 1681.* Facsimile mit einer *Einleitung von Hans Rothe* [Köln, 1983], p. 178 (19b)–179 (20a).	(*Letopiscy poslednej četverti XVII v. PSRL*, vol. 31 [Moscow, 1968], p. 39).

The beginning of both texts with the phrases *vsejà Róssii/vsea Rusii* and the designation of the ruling elite as *bo(l)jary i dvorjany* indicate that both made use of "Nestor," which was apparently a "xronograf" of the sixteenth (or even the final half of the seventeenth) century.

The *Mazurinskij letopisec* (i.e., from the collection of F. Mazurin) is a very peculiar "northern" compilation dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century that made use of earlier Novgorodian sources. On the one hand, it contains—especially in its opening passages—many fictitious and obviously invented stories. But on the other hand, it also includes items "which deserve our attention," as noted by Mixail N. Tixomirov with regard to some data concerning the thirteenth century (*Kratkie zametki o letopisnyx proizvedenijax v rukopisnyx sobranijax Moskvy* [Moscow, 1967], p. 52).

One may speculate that the common source of the *Sinopsis* and the *Mazurinskij letopisec* named more than one emperor (*Mazurinskij letopisec*: "pri grečeskix carex"). In fact, we know that between the spring of 948 and 9 November 959, there were *two* emperors in Constantinople: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, and his son and co-ruler Romanus II (see p. 9, above, and Grumel, *La chronologie,* p. 358). If that hypothetical source was also a source of the Hustyn Chronicle, then its compiler chose to name a different emperor, that is, Constantine. This explains why the emperor who was contemporaneous with the patriarch Polyeuctus is named as "Constantine" in two instances (the Hustyn Chronicle and the *Sinopsis*), and as "Romanus" in another (the *Mazurinskij letopisec*). The compiler of the Hustyn Chronicle must have purposely opted for "Constantine," since Baronio, whom he explicitly quoted, had "Romanus" (<Reginonis Continuator).

In light of the arguments presented in the present study, however, just the reverse is the case: The only patriarch who could have baptized Ol'ga in Constantinople on 18 October 957 was Polyeuctus, who occupied that see from 3 April 956 to 5 February 970.[33]

We know that the date for Ol'ga's conversion as given in the *PVL* was taken from the pamphlet by Jakov Mnix known as *Pamjat' i poxvala Vladimiru.* Jakov had investigated remnants of the Kiev oral tradition about Ol'ga and Volodimer ca. 1070. Jakov Mnix provided no exact date for Ol'ga's conversion, however. As shown above, the year A.M. 6463/A.D. 955 was arrived at by the chronicler by subtracting fifteen years from the exact date of Ol'ga's death established by Jakov Mnix; the calculation was due to Mnix's remark that Ol'ga lived as a Christian for 15 years; apparently Jakov used here the "round" number of 15 instead of the correct "odd" one of 13.

There is one more reliable Old Rus' source corroborating that Ol'ga received baptism in Constantinople. One of the first Kievan metropolitans, Ilarion the Rusin, in his sermon "Slovo o zakoně . . . i o blagodati" delivered at the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev ca. 1050, stated the following: "On" že s" materiju svoeju Elenoju krest" ot" Ierusalima prinesša, i po vsemu miru svoemu razslavša, věru utverdišja: ty že s" baboju tvojeju Ol'goju prinesše krest" ot" Novago Ierusalima, ot" Konstjantina grada, i sego, na zemli svoej postaviv", utverdista Věru'," [34] i.e., "He [Constantine I, emperor A.D. 306–337], together with his mother Helen [St. Helena, b. ca. A.D. 248, d. ca. A.D. 328], had fetched the [Holy] Cross from Jerusalem, and sent it [the Cross] throughout his entire *Pax*, [and in doing so] they strengthened the Faith: in the same way you, with your grandmother Ol'ga, brought the [Holy] Cross from the New Jerusalem, from Constantinople, and, having it, [the Cross] put in your land you both strengthened the Faith."

The parallelism in the passage—Constantine and Volodimer versus Helen and Ol'ga—makes it clear that the true activists were the two ladies, Constantine's mother Helen and Volodimer's grandmother Ol'ga. In fact, Helen was credited already in early Church history (first mention in Ambrose's panegyric on Theodosius the

[33] See Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 436.

[34] *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis*, ed. Ludolf Müller (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 118–19.

Great in A.D. 395) with the discovery of Christ's cross during her travels to Jerusalem.[35] Since Helen (and *not* Constantine) went to Jerusalem, it was also Ol'ga (and *not* Volodimer) who is credited in the passage with having travelled to Constantinople in order to bring the Christian faith to Rus'.

IV

Ol'ga's embassy to Otto I in 959, shortly after her visit to Constantinople, has been regarded as a parallel to that made by the Bulgarian ruler Boris one hundred years earlier. Before making his final arrangements with the Church of Constantinople, Boris, too, had tested the possibilities of Rome. Although at first glance the similarities between the two instances may be striking, an analysis and comparison of the international situation in the Christian church in the 860s with that in the 950–960s points to differences. The Bulgars of Asparuch who entered Moesia, a Roman province, were recognized in a treaty of 681 as *federati* of the empire. Popes Agapitus II (946–955) and John XII (955–964) were no match for Nicholas I (858–867) or John VIII (872–882), and the pious Patriarch Polyeuctus had none of the personality of the rigorous theoretician Photius, patriarch in 858–867 and 877–886. Besides, Ol'ga sent her embassy not to the pope in Rome, but to King Otto I in Frankfurt. Also, by the middle of the tenth century, Byzantium was no longer interested in religious proselytism, especially beyond the frontiers of the *Imperium Romanum*; there was also no schism between Rome and Constantinople after the official reunion in 920.[36]

Constantine VII was a great admirer of Otto I, whom he called "the Great" in his *De administrando imperio*.[37] He betrothed his son (and co-regent) Romanus II to Bertha/Eudocia, a Frankish princess closely related to Otto I;[38] Constantine became fond of his

[35] See H. Thurston and D. Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, vol. 3 (London, 1956), pp. 346–48.

[36] Concerning the Peace of the Church proclaimed in June 920, see Henri Grégoire, in *The Byzantine Empire*, pt. 1 (= *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4), ed. J. M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 137–38.

[37] *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, Eng. trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), p. 142.

[38] Bertha (the daughter of Hugh of Arles, King of Italy, 926–947) was the sister-in-law of Adelheide of Burgundy (b. 931, d. 999), daughter of King Rudolf II of Burgundy (912–937); in 951 Adelheide became by a second marriage the wife of Otto I. See Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society*,

daughter-in-law and mourned her premature death in 949. Liutprand of Cremona, the Western ambassador who conducted diplomatic missions to Constantinople in 949 and 968, refers to Constantine VII in very warm terms.[39]

Otto I, during the greater part of his rule as king, and especially in the 950s and 960s, after his decisive victory over the Hungarians, displayed intense missionary activity and contributed to the establishment of church organizations in Eastern Europe, particularly among the Danes ("Varangians") and the Slavs. Clearly, Otto was the authority Ol'ga needed. It is reasonable to suggest that it was Emperor Constantine VII (or Romanus II, since he is named in Adalbert's chronicle) who—after Patriarch Polyeuctus baptized Ol'ga—advised her to request missionaries and a church organization from his friend Otto I, at that time the only active proponent of missionary activity in Eastern Europe.

The Rus' queen Ol'ga was baptized in October 957 in Constantinople by Patriarch Polyeuctus. This was a personal, private conversion. When Ol'ga later wanted to baptize her entire realm, she turned to the professional missionaries of Otto I, following the advice of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII.

Harvard University

400–1000 (Totowa, N.J., 1981), p. 226, and pp. 177–83.

[39] "Liutprands von Cremona Werke," ed. A. Bauer and R. Rau, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit* (see fn. 6), pp. 252, 254, 330.

APPENDIX

The Sources of the Hustyn Chronicle's Account of Ol'ga's Baptism

The Hustyn Chronicle (HC) mentions Ol'ga's baptism twice: first, chronologically within its main text (A); and second, in its discourse about the five Rus' baptisms, the fifth and last being that of Volodimer in 988, with Ol'ga's baptism referred to as the fourth (B). The discourse is sandwiched between the years 986 and 987. Here are the relevant texts:

A.	B.
V'' lîto 6463 (955). Pojde Olha vo Hreky k'' Caryhradu, ydîže so čestiju prijata bŷst' y ljubeznî ot'' carja Konstantyna, sŷna Leonova. . .	Četvertoe že krestysja Rus' ot'' Hrekov'' za Olhy knjahynî. . . Sija Olha xody vo Caryhrad'' navykaty
Y kresty ju sam'' patriarxa Polievkt'' y nareče ej ymja Elena. . .	vîry ko patriarxu Polievktu, po smerty Theofylakta patriarxy, pry cary Hrečeskom'' Konstantynî sedmom'', v'' lîto 955, jako naš'' Ruskij lîtopysca hlaholet'', a vedluh'' Baroniuša lîto 958; ydîže patriarx'' naučy ju vîrŷ y kresty ju, y nareče ymja ej Elena. . .
Zonaras'' hlaholet'', jako tohda Theofylakt bî patriarx''. . .	Zonar'' hlaholet'', jako tohda Theofylakt'' bî patriarxa.[2]
Kromer'' hlaholet'', jako za carstvo Ioanna Zamosky Olha krestysja.[1]	

The HC includes either in the text or along its margins six sources; two of these, the *PVL* of the Laurentian type and Zonaras, have already been discussed. The others are the following:

Bar. 958 = *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607) by Cardinal Cesare Baronio (Ruthenian: Baroniuš), b. 1538, d. 1607. The work contains a passage concerning Ol'ga's baptism under the year 958, as rightly quoted by the HC. Information was taken from two sets of sources, one Byzantine and the other German. The passage reads:

[1] p. 244; contains the following marginal notes: Bar. 958./ Mar. Bîl. kn. 1, 54./ Krom. kn. 3, 43 y 46, v'' lîto 950./ Gvagn. o Moskvî 22, v'' lîto 942./ Zon. tom. 3./ Krom. kn. 3, 46.

[2] p. 253; contains the following marginal notes: Mart. Bîl. 54./Zonar'' tom'' 3./Bar. 958.' Zonar'' tom'' 3.

A.D. 958. . .[Byzantine sources] "Et ea, quae fuerat uxor ducis Rhos, qui [Igor'] contra Romanos classem adduxerat, Elga nomine, mortuo ipso viro, Constantinopolim se contulit, et baptisata cum sincerae Fidei cultum se suscipere instituisse ostendiset, et pro sui propositi dignitate ornata domum rediit."

[German sources] "Die ista est mentio apud Reginonem anno sequenti, quem nominat Helenam his verbis: legati Reginae Rugorum, sive Russorum [*sic*], quae sub Romano Imperat. Constantinopoli baptisata est, ficte (ut postea claruit) ad Regem Ottonem venientes Episcopos, et presbyteros eidem genti petebant" (vol. 16 [Luca, 1744], p. 101).

Baronio deals with Ol'ga's embassy to Otto I again under the year 959. There he bases his information on the annals compiled by the continuator of Regino, i.e., Adalbert, in particular on the items for the years 959–62: the case of Libutius, and Adalbert's unsuccessful mission to Rus' (ibid., p. 104).

Adalbert's name, as "Rugorum ordinatus Episcopus," reappears in Baronio's work in connection with his advancement in the year 971 (ibid., p. 210).

Mart. Bîl., kn. 1, 54 = Marcin [and Joachim] Bielski (b. ca. 1495, d. 1575), *Kronika Polska. Nowo przez syna iego wydana* (Cracow, 1597). The relevant passage (p. 54) reads: "Ta Olha ieździła do Konstantynopola wiary chrześćiańskiej wyknać y tam sie okrzćiła a imie iey dano Helena. Gdy iechała z Carzygroda błogosławił iey Patryarcha. . . ."

There is no mention of any date nor of the names of the patriarch or emperor.

In Bielski's earlier work, *Kronika tho iesth Historya Świata* (Cracow, 1564), however, on fol. 427 b (Book 9: "O Ksiestwie Moskiewskim"), one finds the following relevant passage: "Olha. . .okrzćiła sie Greckim obyczaiem iechawszy do Grecyey tha napierwsza krześćijańska pania była v Ruśi: było temu lat od stworzenia świata, 6463. za Cesarza Jana Konstantynopolskiego" (date and emperor's name after the *PVL* of the Laurentian type).

Krom. kn. 3, 43 y 46, v" lîto 950 = Marcin Kromer (d. 1589), *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Basilea, 1584), Liber tertius, pp. 45–46.

The number '3' (in '43') was an error, substituting for '5'. Here is the text:

Aliquanto post Russi, imperantibus apud Graecos Basilio et Constantino fratribus, Ioannis Zemiscae filiis [*sic*] post nongentesimum octogesimum [*sic*] annum a Christo nato, hoc est, 6497 ab orbe condito, ut ipsorum annales habent publice ad eandem religionem accesserunt cum Volodimirus dux eorum. . .. Tametsi Olga siue Helena Volodimiri huius auia aliquanto ante, post Igori mariti sui mortem profecta Constantinopolim Zemisce imperante Christiana facta erat. Lambertus Saffnaburgensis [Lampert of Hersfeld, d. ca. 1080] qui ante quingentos fere annos Chronicon rerum Germanicarum annotavit, scribit, anno Christi nati 960, Rusciae gentis legationem ad regem Ottonem primum venisse. . .(< Adalbert). Marginal

notations: "Russi. Ioannes Zemisces imp. Constantinop. 980 ann. [an error; actually 988–989] 6497 mundi annus secundum Russos. Russi Graecorum sectam amplectuntur. Olga. / Lamb. Saffnaburgensis, error. 960.

The year "950" in the HC is certainly an error for Kromer's "960."

Gvagn. o Moskvî 22, v" lîto 942 = Alexander Guagnini (Polish Gwagnin, b. 1534, d. 1614), *Sarmatiae Europeae descriptio*, pt. 5: "Moschoviae descriptio." Here I quote the first edition [Cracow], 1578), which was not used by the author of the HC: "Rutheni omnes postquam semel fidem Christianam Graecorum ritu Anno restitutae per Christum salutis 942. susceperunt, sub Olha Ducisa and Wolodimiro filio eius [sic]. . ." (fol. 17r).

Guagnini's date of 942 as the year of Ol'ga's baptism is due to an error in his conversion of dates from the A.M. era (in which the year began in March) and/or from the indiction to the Christian era (with the year beginning in January). The same type of error (of 12–13 years) often occurs in the work of medieval Western chroniclers writing about Eastern Europe. For instance, Jan Długosz in his history of Poland gave the year A.D. 1212 for the Kalky battle based on a Rus' source apparently citing the date A.M. 6463 (= A.D. 1224/25). Similarly, A.D. 942 in Guagnini resulted from an erroneous conversion of A.M. 6463.

None of the sources quoted by the HC, including the *PVL* and Zonaras, had any information that it was the patriarch Polyeuctus who baptized Ol'ga.

See also the erroneous dating in M. Kromer's work (cited above), where A.M. 6497 is wrongly explained as A.D. 980, instead of the correct A.D. 988–989. Here, as often in the *Annales* of J. Długosz, the error is eight years.

An addition: the exact date of Volodimer's baptism was A.M. 6496 (A.D. 988; see *PVL*); the number A.M. 6497 is due to the (Novgorodian?) ultra-March re-dating.

Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question

DAVID A. FRICK

1. This article investigates the position of Meletij Smotryc'kyj (ca. 1577–1633) in the linguistic debates that took place among the Orthodox populace of the Polish Commonwealth in the age of the Counter-Reformation. It deals not with the internal development of the linguistic media in question, but with Smotryc'kyj's opinions about them: their relative authority, their acceptable range of use, their proper form. Consequently, I draw my arguments from the explicit statements on language and culture which are to be found scattered throughout all of Smotryc'kyj's work, not only grammatical, but also polemical and homiletic.[1] I also look to the nature of his general cultural activities for corroboration or further elucidation of the statements.

The use of the term "language question" implies the adaptation of concepts elaborated in the language controversies known as the *Questione della lingua* that took place in Italy during the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. I organize much of my discussion around the concepts of *dignitas* and *norm* that can be traced to the model provided by the Italian Cinquecento.[2] *Dignitas* referred to the cultural acceptability of a linguistic medium, its ability to serve as a language for church, society, or literature. Once the *dignitas* of a language had been established, the debate centered on its norm, that is, which parts of the linguistic patrimony were to be accepted in the cultural language and on what basis the selection was to be made.

[1] For a discussion of Smotryc'kyj's corpus of works, see David A. Frick, "Meletius Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question in the Age of the Counter-Reformation" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), pp. 19–37.

[2] On the Italian *Questione della lingua*, see Thérèse Labande-Jeanroy, *La question de la langue en Italie* (Paris, 1975); Robert A. Hall, *The Italian Questione Della Lingua: An Interpretative Essay* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1942); Maurizio Vitale, *La questione della lingua*, 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1962); Maria P. Simonelli, "Aspects of the Language Question in Italy," *Aquila: Chestnut Hill Studies in Modern Languages and Literatures*, 3 (1976): 174–84.

Although the Italian humanists provided an authoritative codification of these concepts, they were not the first to discuss such problems in such terms. Indeed, the Italian debates represent, in one sense, an adaptation of the models provided by the linguistic controversies of classical antiquity and the early Church.[3] The Ruthenian language question, as one of the many debates over "national" linguistic media during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, certainly shows, albeit indirectly, the imprint of Italian Renaissance Humanism. It is also, however, a stage in the older discussion over languages intended for sacral versus missionary purposes carried on in both the Eastern and Western churches.

My use of the term "language question" is also connected with research on Slavic language controversies recently conducted under the direction of Riccardo Picchio, in Italy and at Yale University. This work has produced, among other things, two collections of papers devoted to the many Slavic language controversies dating from the time of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission up to the twentieth century.[4] The present study falls within that continuing research.

2. Five languages with varying levels of *dignitas* played roles in the Ruthenian debates of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. They were Greek, Latin, Slavonic ("słowieński"/"slavenskij"), Polish, and Ruthenian ("ruski"/"ruskij").[5]

[3] See Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker* (Stuttgart, 1957–63); Gustave Bardy, *La question des languages dans l'église ancienne*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1948).

[4] Riccardo Picchio, ed., *Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi* (Rome, 1972); Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, eds., *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question* (hereafter *Aspects*), 2 vols. (New Haven, 1984). For an overview of the language question among the Slavs, see Picchio's "Guidelines for a Comparative Study of the Language Question among the Slavs," in the above-cited *Aspects*, 1:1–42, as well as Goldblatt's "The Language Question and the Emergence of Slavic National Languages," in Aldo Scaglione, ed., *The Emergence of National Languages* (Ravenna, 1984), pp. 119–73.

[5] On the language controversies in the Ruthenian lands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see P. I. Žiteckij, *Očerk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narečija v XVII i XVIII vv.*, vol. 1: *Očerk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narečija v XVII veke* (Kiev, 1889), and the Ukrainian translation, edited by L. A. Bulaxovs'kyj, *Narys literaturnoji istoriji ukrains'koji movy v XVII vici* (Lviv, 1941); Miloš Weingart, "Dobrovského Institutiones: Část I. Církevněslovanské mluvnice před Dobrovským," *Sborník filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě* 1 (1923):637–95; Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie blanche, 1569–1657* (Lille, 1938); N. I. Tolstoj, "Vzaimootnošenie lokal'nyx tipov drevneslavjanskogo literaturnogo jazyka pozdnego perioda (vtoraja polovina XVI–XVIIv.)," in *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie: Doklady Sovetskoj delegacii,*

Central to the Ruthenian language question was a discussion of two Orthodox linguistic media. On the one hand, the Ruthenian language question can be seen as the third in the series of debates over the Church Slavonic language, which had long been used as the sacred and literary language of the entire community of Orthodox Slavs. On the other hand, it can be seen as the first attempt to establish the *dignitas*, however limited, of a local "vulgar tongue" to be used for certain well-defined, non-sacral—i.e., "apostolic"—purposes.

In articulating its policy toward the use of various languages, the Church employed the concepts of sacred and apostolic languages. In simplest terms, the Church encouraged the use of apostolic languages to spread the Word among the nations and to instruct the common people. The Latin church insisted that a sacral language be employed in celebrating the solemn portions of the Mass.

Recent scholarship by Picchio has shown that Church doctrine on the use of sacred and apostolic language provided the terms of discussion for the first Slavic language question, which grew out of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in the ninth century. According to Picchio, we should distinguish between at least two stages in the earliest controversies: (1) the affirmation of the legitimacy of Church Slavonic as an apostolic language in Moravia under the Latin church, and (2) a defense of Church Slavonic as a sacral language alongside Hebrew, Latin, and Greek in the First Bulgarian Empire.[6]

Subsequent Slavic language debates made use of the same concepts. In the *Explanatory Treatise on the Letters*, our prime source for a study of the linguistic controversies in the Balkans in the fourteenth century, Constantine Kostenečki reaffirmed the dignity of Slavonic as a "supranational" sacred language and rejected attempts

V. Meždunarodnyj s"ezd slavistov (Moscow, 1963), pp. 230–72; Robert C. Mathiesen, "The Inflectional Morphology of the Synodal Church Slavonic Verb" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972), pp. 50–63; Riccardo Picchio, "Church Slavonic," in Alexander M. Schenker and Edward Stankiewicz, eds., *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development* (New Haven, 1980), pp. 28–32; Bohdan Struminsky, "The Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands before the Nineteenth Century," in *Aspects*, 2:9–47.

6 Riccardo Picchio, "Mjastoto na starata bălgarska literatura v kulturata na srednovekovna Evropa," *Literaturna misăl* 25, no. 8 (1981): 19–36.

to substitute local, "national" variants.[7] The concept of sacred and apostolic languages also played an important role in the Ruthenian debates of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. We can speak of two major aspects of the Ruthenian language question: a defense of the use of Slavonic as a sacred language, and an attempt to regulate the use of a new apostolic language, the Ruthenian "vulgar tongue."

3. The Ruthenian language question grew out of the intense confessional competition that took place throughout the Polish Commonwealth, but especially in the Grand Duchy and the Ruthenian lands, during the Counter-Reformation. The heterodox were the first to see the eastern territories as a field for missionary activity, and they added devotional works in the Lithuanian and Ruthenian vulgar tongues to their arsenal of Polish confessional literature.[8] The Catholics responded in kind and soon produced catechisms, lives of the saints, and postils of their own in Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian.[9] The militant spirit of the post-Tridentine church in Poland is evident in the statement of the Polish Jesuit, Piotr Skarga: "We would not need the East and West Indies; Lithuania and the north are a true India."[10]

[7] Harvey Goldblatt, "Orthography and Orthodoxy: Constantine Kostenečki's Treatise on the Letters" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1977); idem, "The Church Slavonic Language Question in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Constantine Kostenečki's *Skazánie izъjavljénno o písmenex*," *Aspects*, 1:67–98; idem, "The Language Question and Emergence of Slavic National Languages," pp. 131–39.

[8] In tracing the spread of confessional propaganda, we can cite, for example, the publication of Jan Seklucjan's *Katechizmu tekst prosty dla prostego ludu* (Königsberg, 1545), M. Mažvydas's Lithuanian *Catechismusa prasty szadei* (Königsberg, 1547), and Szymon Budny's Ruthenian *Katixisis* (Nesvěž, 1562).

[9] For example, Jakub Wujek published his *Postilla catholica* in Cracow in 1573 in order to compete with Mikołaj Rej's Calvinist *Świętych słów a spraw Pańskich . . . kronika albo postylla, polskim językiem a prostym wykładem też dla prostaków krótce uczyniona* (Cracow, 1557); Mykolas Daukša published a Lithuanian catechism in Vilnius in 1595 and a translation of Wujek's *Postilla mniejsza* in 1599; finally, a Catholic *Katixisis*, translated from Latin into Ruthenian, was published in Vilnius in 1585 to compete with Budny's work. See Marceli Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w świetle propagandy wyznaniowej* (Wrocław, 1973), pp. 3–20, for bibliography on Reformation and Counter-Reformation printings of devotional works in the Grand Duchy. See Martel, *La langue polonaise*, pp. 203–258, for material on Protestant and Catholic propaganda among the Ruthenians.

[10] Cited according to Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja*, p. 113: "Non requiramus Indias Orientis et Occidentis; est vera India Lituania et Septentrio."

The beginnings of the discussion on the use of the Ruthenian vulgar tongue can be traced to the Protestant and Catholic printings of devotional works for the "simple people" of the eastern lands of the Polish Commonwealth. Yet it is a polemical work by Skarga that constitutes the explicit point of departure for many, if not all, aspects of the Ruthenian language question. As part of his agitation for a church union of the Othodox Ruthenians with Rome, Skarga published a pamphlet entitled *On the Unity of the Church of God under One Shepherd and on the Greek Apostasy from that Unity* (Vilnius, 1577; revised version, Cracow, 1590).[11] In it he expressed opinions on the use of both the Church Slavonic language and the Ruthenian vulgar tongue. In his view, Church Slavonic lacked the *dignitas* to fulfill elevated cultural functions; without a fixed grammatical and lexical norm, the language was unsuited for scholarly purposes. According to Skarga, only Latin and, at least theoretically, Greek, with their well-established traditions and fixed norms, had the full *dignitas* of cultural languages:

Furthermore, the Greeks greatly cheated you, O Ruthenian nation, that in giving you the holy faith, they did not give you their Greek language. Rather, they ordered you to stay by this Slavonic language, so that you might never attain true understanding and learning. For only these two, Greek and Latin, are languages by means of which the holy faith has been propagated and disseminated throughout the whole world, without which no one can attain complete competence in any field of learning, least of all in the spiritual doctrine of the holy faith. Not only because other languages change continuously and are unable to be stable within their framework of human usage (for they do not have their grammars and lexicons; only those two are always the same and never change), but also because only in those two languages have learned disciplines been established, and those disciplines cannot be translated adequately into other languages. And there has not been in this world, nor will there ever be any academy or college where theology, philosophy, and other liberal arts could be studied and understood in any other language. No one can ever become learned through the Slavonic tongue.[12]

[11] Piotr Skarga, *O jedności Kościoła Bożego pod jednym Pasterzem i o greckim od tej jedności odstąpieniu* (Vilnius, 1577).

[12] Cited according to Petr Gil'tebrandt, *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury v zapadnoj Rusi*, vol. 2 (= *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, 7) (St. Petersburg, 1882), cols. 485–86: "Ktemu wielce cię oszukali Grekowie, narodzie Ruski, iż ci, wiarę ś. podaiąc, ięzykać swego Greckiego nie podali. Aleć na tym Słowieńskim przestać kazali, abyś nigdy do prawego rozumienia y nauki nie przyszedł. Bo tylo ty dwa są ięzyki, Grecki a Laciński, ktorymi wiara ś. po wszem świecie rozszerzona y szczepiona iest,

In Skarga's view, Church Slavonic lacked not only the qualities which would lend it full *dignitas*, but also the requisite for use in less dignified, propagandistic modes of expression—namely, intelligibility:

And now hardly anyone understands it [Church Slavonic] perfectly. For there is not a nation on earth which speaks it the way it is found in the books. And it does not have its rules, grammars, and lexicons for the purpose of interpretation, nor can it anymore. Wherefore, when your priests (*popi*) wish to understand something in Slavonic, they must have recourse to Polish for interpretation.[13]

Skarga did, however, recognize the benefits of a well-defined use of the Ruthenian vulgar tongue alongside Polish, and saw one of the failures of Jesuit activities in the Ruthenian lands precisely in the unwillingness to make use of Ruthenian for propagandistic purposes:

Had we been alert, we could long ago have had Ruthenian schools and have looked through all the Ruthenian writings and have had our Catholics trained in their Slavonic tongue. We should also have translated into Polish or Ruthenian works for the Ruthenian people which serve that they might more quickly see the truth. It would also have been good to send scholars to the leading noblemen of the Ruthenian rite and indicate to them their errors and their peril.[14]

Skarga referred to Polish and Ruthenian, as languages suitable for missionary activities, on more or less equal terms. His statements on the Ruthenian language question are in accord with his views on

---

okrom ktorych, nikt w żadney nauce, a zwłaszcza w duchowney, wiary ś. doskonałym być nie może. Nie tylo przeto iż inne ięzyki vstawicznie się mieniaią a w swey klubie vżywania ludzkiego stać nie mogą (bo swych grammatyk y kalepinow nie maią, ty dwa tylo zawżdy iednakie są, a nigdy się nie mienią), ale też przeto, iż w tych tylo dwu nauki vfundowane są a przełożyć się na inne ięzyki dostatecznie nie mogą. Y nie było ieszcze na swiecie, ani będzie żadney akademiey, ani kollegium, gdzie by theologia, philozophia y inne wyzwolone nauki inszym się ięzykiem vczyły y rozumieć mogły. Z Słowieńskiego ięzyka nigdy żaden vczonym być nie może."

13 Loc. cit: "A iuż go teraz prawie nikt doskonale nie rozumie. Bo tey na świecie nacyey nie masz, ktora by im tak, iako w księgach iest, mowiła; a swych też reguł, grammatyk y kalepinow do wykładu nie ma, ani iusz mieć może. Y stąd popi waszy, gdy co w Słowieńskim chcą rozumieć, do Polskiego się vdać po tłumactwo muszą."

14 Op. cit., col. 499: "Byśmy byli czuyni, mogliśmy dawno szkoły Ruskie mieć a wszytkie pisma Ruskie przeyrzeć, y w Słowieńskim ich ięzyku mieć swoie katoliki ćwiczone. Trzeba było y na Polski, abo na Ruski ięzyk przekładać Ruskim narodom rzeczy, ku temu służące, żeby rychley prawdę obaczyli. Dobrze by y do przedniejszych Ruskiego nabożeństwa panow vczone posyłać, a onym ich błędy y niebespieczeństwo vkazować."

the Polish language.[15] For him, only Greek and Latin had sufficient *dignitas* to be used for sacred and scholarly purposes. Other languages, such as Church Slavonic, Polish, and Ruthenian, lacked a fixed norm and could not be used for elevated purposes. Skarga advocated the use of Polish and Ruthenian as "apostolic" languages. Church Slavonic, it would seem, in its lack of both *dignitas* and intelligibility, was unsuited for any cultural use.

Skarga's charges that Church Slavonic lacked *dignitas* due to the absence of a well-established grammatical and rhetorical norm were answered in two ways. One point of view is represented by Ivan Vyšens'kyj (ca. 1550–ca. 1620), a Ruthenian monk who was active at Mt. Athos. He argued that Church Slavonic was "more honored before God than Greek or Latin" precisely because it lacked the "pagan deceits" of grammar and rhetoric. For him, as for participants in earlier discussions on the Slavonic language, the divine origin of the Slavonic language had established its *dignitas*:

For I will tell you a great secret, that the devil is so envious of the Slavonic language that he is barely alive for his anger. He would gladly destroy it completely and has directed his entire struggle to this end, to make it the

[15] On the Polish language question and, among other things, Skarga's place in the discussions, see: Claude Backvis, *Quelques remarques sur le bilinguisme latino-polonais dans la Pologne du seizième siècle* (Brussels, 1958) (also published in Polish under the title "Uwagi o dwujęzyczności łacińsko-polskiej w XVI wieku w Polsce," in Claude Backvis, *Szkice o kulturze staro-polskiego* [Warsaw, 1975], pp. 528–624); Maria Renata Mayenowa, ed., *Walka o język w życiu i literaturze staropolskiej* (Warsaw, 1955); Tadeusz Ulewicz, "W sprawie walki o język polski w pierwszej połowie XVI w. (paralele czeskie, problem przedmów drukarskich)," *Język Polski* 36 (1956): 81–97; Irena Mamczarz, "Alcuni aspetti della Questione della lingua in Polonia nel Cinquecento," in *Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi*, pp. 279–325; Maria Renata Mayenowa, "Aspects of the Language Question in Poland from the Middle of the Fifteenth Century to the Third Decade of the Nineteenth Century," in *Aspects*, 1: 337–76.

According to Mamczarz (pp. 294–95), Skarga defended the use of Latin in the liturgy on account of its grammatical stability, and contrasted Latin with the mutability of the vulgar tongues (see Piotr Skarga, *Kazania o siedmiu sakramentach* [Cracow, 1600], p. 94). Similar terms occur in the argument against translating the Bible from Latin into the vulgar tongues in the anonymous preface to Jakub Wujek's Polish Bible translation published posthumously in Cracow in 1599: "Naostatek, ponieważ sie te ięzyki nasze coraz odmieniaią, iako to znać po onym katechismie Woyciecha S. Bogarodzica, w którym siła słów iest staropolskich których teraz nie vżywamy: tobyśmy też musieli każdą razą Biblią odmieniać, zkądby sie trzeba obawiać wiele błędów w tak częstym tłumaczeniu. Dla tych y inszych przyczyn iasna rzecz iest, iż dosyć iest do zachowania wiary, mieć pismo ś. ięzykiem powszechnym, iaki v nas iest Łaciński" (f. ***1^{r}).

object of disgust and hatred. . . . And it is for this reason that the devil wages this battle against the Slavonic language: because it is more fructiferous than all languages and more beloved of God, since it leads to God through simple, diligent reading, without any sort of guile, without pagan deceits and handbooks, i.e., grammars, rhetorics, dialectics, and other vainglorious perfidies, proper to the devil; it builds simplicity and humility. . . . Know, thus, that the Slavonic language is more honored before God than Greek or Latin.[16]

Nonetheless, in his defense of Slavonic Vyšens'kyj shared certain ideas with his less conservative compatriots. For example, he, too, sought to establish the *dignitas* of Slavonic by comparing it with Greek and Latin. Moreover, in another passage, he seems to have contradicted himself by establishing grammar and rhetoric as a part of an Orthodox program of study.[17]

Other Ruthenian scholars, many educated in Catholic and heterodox schools, were able to respond to Skarga's challenge on its own terms. In general, the Ruthenian language question was characterized by an attempt to defend the *dignitas* of Slavonic by virtue of its grammaticality. Skarga's charges were soon answered by a series of Slavonic grammatical and lexical works and by the founding of Orthodox schools. Among the grammars and lexicons produced by this new cultural activity were a *Khramatyka slovenъ ska jazyka*, containing a reprint of the work *Osъ mъ čestii slova* (Vilnius, 1586); *Adelphotes. Hrammatika dobrohlaholivaho ellinoslovenskaho jazyka* (Lviv, 1591); Lavrentij Zyzanij's *Leksis* and *Hrammatika Slovenska* (Vilnius, 1596); Smotryc'kyj's own *Hrammatiky Slavénskyja právylnoe Sýntagma* (Vevis, 1619); and Pamvo Berynda's *Leksikonъ slavenorosskij i imenъ*

16 Cited according to Ivan Višenskij (Vyšens'kyj), *Sočinenija*, ed. I. P. Eremin (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 23–24: "Skazuju bo vam tajnu velikuju: jak dijavol tolikuju zavist imaet na slovenskij jazyk, že ledve živ ot hněva; rad by eho do ščety pohubil i vsju borbu svoju na toe dvihnul, da eho obmerzit i vo ohidu i nenavist privedet. . . . Ato dlja toho diavol na slovenskij jazyk borbu tuju maet, zane ž est plodonosnějšij ot vsěx jazykov i bohu ljubimšij: ponež bez pohanskix xitrostej i rukovodstv, se ž est khramatik, rytoryk, dialektik i pročix kovarstv tščeslavnyx, diavola vъněstnyx, prostym priležnym čitaniem, bez vsjakoho uxiščrenija, k bohu privodit, prostotu i smirenie buduet. . . . Tako da znaete, jak slovenskij jazyk pred bohom čestnějšij est i ot ellinskaho i latinskaho."

17 Višenskij, *Sočinenija*, pp. 175–76. On Vyšens'kyj's pedagogical program, see P. K. Jaremenko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 84–102, and Frick, "Meletius Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question in the Age of the Counter-Reformation," pp. 172–76.

Tъkovanie (Kiev, 1627).[18] The pace of Ruthenian philological activity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century was matched by the establishment of Orthodox schools and "academies" in Ostrih, Lviv, Vilnius, Kiev, and elsewhere.[19]

4. Smotryc'kyj's participation in the Ruthenian language question can be seen as part of his general concern for the "spiritual good" (*bonum spirituale/dobro duchowne*) of the Ruthenian nation; it was closely linked to his activities in pedagogy and book production.[20] Smotryc'kyj sought to provide the Ruthenian nation with the proper cultural equipment to compete more successfully with the other nations of the Polish Commonwealth. Essential to the nation's spiritual well-being, in his view, were a flourishing noble class, schools, monasteries, printing presses, teachers, and preachers, as well as well-edited books for use in the liturgy and in personal devotion.

Smotryc'kyj's *Hrammatiky Slavėnskyja právylnoe Sýntagma* (Vevis, 1619) can serve as a point of departure for a study of his opinions on the language question. It contains his most explicit and direct response to Skarga's charges. There Smotryc'kyj assigned to Slavonic a level of *dignitas* equal to that of Greek and Latin by claiming (and then providing) for it the same sort of fixed grammatical norm possessed by the classical languages:

It will depend on your dutiful zeal, diligent teachers, that the benefit of grammar, which, in the Greek and Latin languages, has been shown through experience itself to be clearly significant, be felt in the Slavonic language as well, and, in time, through a similar experience, be proved significant. For you who have studied the art of Greek or Latin grammar

[18] See Weingart, "Církevněslovanske mluvnice," pp. 650–88, and Mathiesen, "Inflectional Morphology," pp. 50–63.

[19] On the establishment of schools among the Orthodox Ruthenians, see K. Xarlampovič, *Zapadnorusskie pravoslavnye školy XVI i načala XVII v.* (Kazan', 1898); V. I. Askočenskij, *Kiev s drevnejšim ego učiliščem akademieju* (Kiev, 1856; photomechanical reprint, Leipzig, 1976); A. Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilańska* (Cracow, 1899–1900); E. N. Medynskij, *Bratskie školy Ukrainy i Belorussii v XVI–XVII vv. i ix rol' v vossoedinenii Ukrainy s Rossiej* (Moscow, 1954); Zoja Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljan'ska akademija*, 1st ed. (Kiev, 1970), 2nd ed. (Kiev, 1981); and the special issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (vol. 8, no. 1/2 [June 1984]) devoted to the Kiev Mohyla Academy.

[20] On Smotryc'kyj's cultural program for the Ruthenian nation, see Frick, "Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question," pp. 106–152, and Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Question in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 3/4 (December 1984): 351–375.

know what it brings to an understanding of the purity of the language, as well as of the correct and fine spelling, writing, and understanding of written works according to the characteristics of the languages. Every benefit that the grammars of the above-mentioned languages commonly bring, the Slavonic grammar is surely capable of bringing in its Slavonic language.[21]

In the rest of the preface Smotryc'kyj sought to answer Skarga's second main point, i.e., the notion that Church Slavonic is unsuitable for scholarly pursuits. The grammar itself was conceived as a school textbook and Smotryc'kyj addressed himself in the preface to the "school teachers."[22] To justify the study of Church Slavonic, Smotryc'kyj first placed it on a level with the two sacred and classical languages of humanistic Europe. He then provided a curriculum for the young students of the Ruthenian schools. Studies were to begin with the use of a *bukvarъ* based on the grammar, so students would become accustomed to the Slavonic forms in their earliest years. In the next stage, students would read the horologion and then the Psalter before beginning their actual study of the grammar. Additional readings might be drawn from the Proverbs of Solomon, or from the Wisdom of Solomon, or the Wisdom of Sirach, "or something else translated from the Greek into the pure Slavonic language."[23]

Further investigation may yet uncover parallels between Smotryc'kyj's *ratio studiorum* and the programs of study in Protestant and Jesuit schools of the Latin West. For now, we note a functional equivalence between, on the one hand, the roles of Latin and the given local vulgar tongue in Western schools and, on the other hand, the roles of Church Slavonic and Ruthenian in Smotryc'kyj's program. Smotryc'kyj and his Ruthenian contemporaries viewed the

[21] Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Hrammatiky Slavénskyja právylnoe Sýntagma* (Vevis, 1619), facsimile edition, ed. V.V. Nimčuk (Kiev, 1979), pp. II^{r-v}: "Požitokъ grammatiki v jazyku greckom i Latinskom samym dosvědčenem okazale značnyj/ aby i v Slavenskom doznanъ/ a začasom podobnymъ dosvědčenem i značne okazanъ byl/ na povinnoj vašej Ljubotščatelnyi Učitele pilnosti zaležati budetъ. Vědaete abověmъ/ kotoryistesja greckoi/ ljubъ Latinskoi Grammatiki xudozstvu učili/ što ona estь ku ponjatju jak jazyka čistosti/ takъ i pravoho a sočinnoho/ vedluhъ vlasnosti dialektovъ i movenja/ i pisanja, i pismъ vyrozumenja. Všeljakij požitokъ/ kotoryj kolvekъ prerečonyxъ jazykovъ Grammatiki činiti zvykly, bez vontpenja i Slavenskaja v svoemъ jazycě Slavenskomъ učiniti možetъ."

[22] On Smotryc'kyj and pedagogy, see M.V. Kravčenko, "Včennja M. Smotryc'koho pro osnovni pryncypy vykladannja hramatyky," in V.V. Nimčuk et al., ed., *Sxidno-slov''jans'ki hramatyky XVI–XVII st.* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 128–29.

[23] Smotryc'kyj, *Hrammatiky*, pp. III^{r-v}.

Slavonic language as the supranational language of the church and the church books common to all Orthodox Slavs. According to Smotryc'kyj's directions, lessons were to be read in Slavonic "in the usual manner of the schools and interpreted in Ruthenian." The Slavonic language was to be "maintained among the students in everyday school discourse by threat of punishment."[24]

More details of Smotryc'kyj's opinions on the Ruthenian language question can be found in his polemical and homiletic works. Like Skarga, Smotryc'kyj discussed the use of five languages with varying levels of *dignitas*: Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Polish, and Ruthenian. These were to be subjects of study at Ruthenian schools,[25] and they are the languages in which he cited the Bible. He made explicit comments concerning the use of each, and wrote original works in all but Greek.

Smotryc'kyj established a clear hierarchy among these languages. For him, Greek, Latin, and Slavonic had full *dignitas* and formed a sort of trinity of sacral languages.[26] The most explicit statement on the composition of this trinity is to be found in the preface to the grammar, where Greek, Latin, and Slavonic are grouped as the languages that possess a fixed grammatical norm. Ruthenian and, as we shall see, Polish were to be used in interpretation and explanation for the benefit of the less learned.

Precisely this conceptual hierarchy of languages can be inferred from the fictitious translation history which Smotryc'kyj provided for his Polish polemical work entitled *Threnos, That Is, the Lament of the One Holy, Universal, Apostolic Eastern Church . . . Translated First*

[24] Smotryc'kyj, *Hrammatiky*, p. III^{r}: "čitany budutъ zvyklymъ školъ sposobom Slavenskii Lekcii/ i na Ruskij jazykъ perekladany . . . Dialektъ v zvykloj školnoj rozmově Slavenskij/ meži tščatelmi pod karanemъ zaxovanъ."

[25] In a polemical work entitled *Exęthesis abo Expostvlatia* (Lviv, 1629) Smotryc'kyj responded to charges that the Uniates had neglected education, stating: "Szkoły dla ćwiczenia dziatek w ięzyku graeckim, łacińskim, słowieńskim, ruskim y polskim są nam sporządzone" (p. 28^{v}).

[26] The inscription which Pilate ordered placed over Christ's cross in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (cf. John 19:19–22) provided the scriptural model for subsequent trinities of sacred languages. Throughout the Orthodox Slavic tradition we find various such trinities, each reflecting a particular view of languages and culture. In the Bulgarian discussions of the tenth century and the Serbian discussions of the fourteenth century, trinities of sacred languages were posited which included Slavonic but often lacked Latin (e.g., Hebrew, Greek, and Slavonic). Such trinities often reflected a negative attitude toward the Latin language and Latinity. Smotryc'kyj's Ruthenian trinity of Greek, Latin, and Slavonic marks the return of Latin to a position of importance in the culture of the Orthodox Slavs.

from Greek into Slavonic, and Now from Slavonic into Polish . . . (Vilnius, 1610).[27] It is generally agreed that there was no Greek original or Slavonic translation, and that Smotryc'kyj wrote the work in its extant Polish form. In order to give the work greater authority, Smotryc'kyj claimed that it had been written originally in Greek and then translated into Church Slavonic—in other words, into a language of equal *dignitas*. Subsequently it was translated into the less dignified Polish language so that it might be understood by the widest group of people. According to Smotryc'kyj's view of the relative *dignitates* of these three languages, Church Slavonic possessed the expressive capabilities necessary to render adequately the theological concepts found in the Greek "original," whereas Polish did not:

Therefore, many Latin words have been used (especially in the main chapter on the procession of the Holy and life-giving Spirit) for the explanation of the terms used by theologians, which could not be translated properly from Slavonic into Polish.[28]

Thus Greek, Slavonic, and Latin, as languages of roughly equal *dignitas*, are all able to render theological subtleties. Polish, though it lacks the dignity of a cultural language, nonetheless possesses the quality which makes it suitable for polemical purposes—intelligibility: we read in the preface that *Threnos* had been translated into Polish "for the easier understanding of all people."[29] Of particular interest here is Smotryc'kyj's use of this linguistic hierarchy in a fictional account, the purpose of which was, perhaps, to render more genuinely "Orthodox" a work written in Polish with passages in Latin.

A similar translation history, but one apparently intended as a true account, is found in the preface to Smotryc'kyj's *Homiletic Gospel or Sermons for Each Sunday and Holy Days, Written Two Hundred Years Ago in Greek by Our Holy Father Callistos, Archbishop of Constantinople and Ecumenical Patriarch, and Now Translated Anew from the Greek*

[27] Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos To iest Lament iedyney ś. Powszechney Apostolskiey Wschodniey Cerkwie . . . Pierwey z Graeckiego na Słowieński, a teraz z Słowieńskiego na Polski przełożony. . .* (Vilnius, 1610).

[28] Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, p. XV^{r}: "Dla czego też y do obiaśnienia terminow Theologom przyzwoitych/ ktore sie z Słowieńskiego na Polski właśnie przełożyć nie mogły/ siła sie słow Łacińskich (zwłaszcza w owym głownym O Pochodzeniu świętego y żywot daiącego Ducha/ Artykule) zażywa."

[29] Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, p. VI^{r}: "dla snadnieyszego wszech ludzi poięcia."

and Slavonic Languages into Ruthenian (Vevis, 1616).[30] This *Evanhelie učitelnoe*, or *Homiletic Gospel*, came to serve as something of a postil among the Orthodox Ruthenians in the seventeenth century. The particular work in question consists of sermons based on Gospel themes and arranged according to the church calendar. It was traditionally attributed to Callistos, patriarch of Constantinople from 1355 to 1363. There were at least two printed editions of the work in Church Slavonic: (1) the edition published in Zabludov in 1569 at the behest of Alexander Xodkevyč, and (2) the reprint by Gedeon Balaban, Archbishop of Lviv, which was issued at Krylos in 1606. Smotryc'kyj's edition published in 1616 in Vevis was the first translation of the work into Ruthenian; it was the basis for Peter Mohyla's "newly translated" version which appeared in Kiev in 1637.[31]

The edition of 1616 seems to have been printed with one of at least five different prefaces containing dedications of the work to: (1) the Solomerec'kyj family; (2) the Ogins'kyj and Volovyč families; (3) the Volovyč family; (4) Anna Xodkevyčivna; and (5) Fedor Masal's'kyj.[32] Smotryc'kyj placed his name after the preface dedicated to the Solomerec'kyj family alone. This preface said that the translation was the work of Smotryc'kyj and was offered to the Solomerec'kyj family as an "antipelargesis," that is, as repayment for the opportunity to study in German centers of learning that the

30 *Evhlie učitelnoe albo Kazanja, na koždυju nedlju i Svjata uročistyi, prezъ Stho Otca našeho Kalista, Arxiepskopa Konstantinopolskoho, i Vselenskoho Patriarxu, pred dvěma sty lět Po khrecku napisanyi, a teperъ novo z Khreckoho i Slovenskoho jazyka na Ruskij preloženyi.*

31 The title page to Mohyla's edition bears much the same wording as Smotryc'kyj's, but with the addition of the word *povtore*: "a teper povtore novo z Greckoho i Slovenskoho jazyka na Ruskij preloženoe." In a preface dedicated to Bohdan Stetkevyč Ljubavyc'kyj, Mohyla stated that the first edition had been published by the Orthodox Brotherhood in Vilnius; all reference to Smotryc'kyj as translator was omitted. It is possible that knowledge of the translator's identity had been lost by this time; it is also possible that Smotryc'kyj's name was suppressed due to his famous conversion to the Uniate church. It should be noted that Mohyla's "newly translated" edition differs from Smotryc'kyj's work primarily in a few orthographic matters.

The title page and three of Mohyla's prefaces to the *Homiletic Gospel* of 1637 may be found in Xv. Titov, *Materijaly dlja istoriji knyžnoji spravy na Vkrajini v XVI–XVIII vv. Vsezbirka peredmov do ukrajins'kyx starodrukiv* (Kiev, 1924), pp. 321–41.

32 For a discussion of the various prefaces to Smotryc'kyj's *Evhlie učitelnoe*, see Frick, "Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question," pp. 20–23. I have seen prefaces 1, 2, and 3; prefaces 4 and 5 are discussed by V. V. Nimčuk in a study accompanying his facsimile edition of Smotryc'kyj's grammar (V. V. Nimčuk, *Hramatyka M. Smotryc'koho—Perlyna davn'oho movoznavstva* [Kiev, 1979], pp. 14–15).

family had given him.[33] All other prefaces were signed in the name of the Holy Spirit Monastery of the Orthodox Brotherhood of Vilnius.

Several of the prefaces (though not the one signed by Smotryc'kyj) discuss the reason for undertaking the translation. Here Smotryc'kyj says that the collection of sermons had been written by Patriarch Callistos in Greek and then translated into Church Slavonic "during the more learned era of our forefathers":

Now, although he [Callistos] became of little use and little benefit to many, through the ignorance and inability of many in the Slavonic language, through his translation anew into our vulgar Ruthenian tongue, he has been as if resurrected, and, through the edition in print, sent to all the wide corners of the glorious and ancient Ruthenian nation. Now he has instructed everyone, for all time, however simple and unable to read the Slavonic language, who therefore used to have recourse to the infectious pastures of heretical teaching (put in words and published in writing). And so, he who in these times, though he use the nobler, the more beautiful, the more concise, the subtler and richer Slavonic language, due to the inability of the listeners was of use to few; now, though he use the baser and more vulgar tongue, he could be necessary and beneficial to many, or rather, to all of the Ruthenian tongue, whatever their abilities.[34]

Within the hierarchy of three sacred languages with full *dignitas*, separated from the two vulgar tongues, Smotryc'kyj accorded an absolute authority to the Greek language and to Greek texts. Indeed, the authority of the Greek language derived directly from

[33] Smotryc'kyj's biographer, Jakiv Suša (Jakub Susza), writes that Smotryc'kyj visited Breslau, Leipzig, Nuremberg, and "other cities and academies of Protestant Germany" (Jakub Susza, *Saulus et Paulus Ruthenae unionis . . . Sive Meletius Smotriscius . . .* [Rome, 1666], p. 16). Smotryc'kyj went on this trip as a tutor to Bohdan Solomerec'kyj.

[34] Smotryc'kyj, *Evhlie učitelnoe* (cited according to the edition bearing a preface dedicated to the Ogins'kyj and Volovyč families), p. IV^{v}: "Teper zasъ (pre neznaemostъ i neuměetnostъ jazyka Slovenskoho mnohix) mnohim malo potreben i nepožitočen stavšisja, znovu pereloženemъ eho na jazyk naš prostyj Ruskij, jakoby z mertvyx vskrešon, a vydanem z druku na vsě širokii slavnoho i starožitnoho narodu Rosijskoho krainy rozoslan buduči, vsěmi potomnymi věki, vsěxъ, a ile prostějšix, a jazyka Slovenskoho ne umějučix, i dlja toho podčas do zarazlivyx eretičeskoi (slovy podanoi i škriptom vydanoi) nauki pastvisk udavatisja zvyklyx, učil. A zatym tot kotoryj tyx časov xot v zacnějšom, penknějšom, zvjaznějšom, suptelnějšom i dostatočnějšom jazyku Slovenskom, pre nesposobnostъ sluxačov, nemnohim požitočen byl: teper xot v podlějšom i prostějšom jazyku, mnohim, albo račej i vsěm Ruskoho jazyka, jakokolvek uměetnym, potreben i požitočon byti mohlъ."

the Greek texts of the Bible and the Church Fathers. Smotryc'kyj's "critical use" of biblical citations provides direct evidence of his respect for the Greek tradition.[35] Throughout all of his work, grammatical, polemical, and homiletic, he "corrected" many of his Church Slavonic, Polish, and Ruthenian biblical sources by providing a more adequate translation of a text belonging to the authoritative Greek tradition. Many passages occur within the polemic with the Latin church, in which Smotryc'kyj sought to demonstrate that Latin was unable to render completely the subtlety of Greek theological terms. Such an argument is to be found, for example, in the following passage from *Threnos*:

> . . . is it not proper for the Greeks to interpret the Greek writings, since you cannot deny that the Greeks know their common language better by their birth than other nations through study? Since, then, the Apostle was writing in Greek, certainly none of the Latins could understand this passage more properly and interpret it more appropriately than St. Chrysostom. Therefore, it is more correct to acquiesce in the opinion of those who are more, than in the opinion of the Latin doctors, who made such an interpretation either through the insufficiency of the Latin language in the expression of the properties of Greek words, or else in opposing a greater evil, gave way to a lesser.[36]

In his polemical refutation of *Threnos*, entitled *Na Treny y Lament Theophila Orthologa* (Cracow, 1610), Skarga responded to this and other passages by asserting that it was the Greek text of the Bible that had been corrupted by Greek heretics.[37] Smotryc'kyj and Skarga agreed on the lack of dignity of Polish and Ruthenian, and on the use of these languages for homiletic, catechetical, and propagandistic

[35] See David A. Frick, "Meletius Smotricky's Critical Use of Biblical Citations," in R. Picchio and H. Goldblatt, eds., *Composition and Meaning in Early Slavic Literature*, forthcoming.

[36] Smotryc'kyj, *Threnos*, pp. $158^{v}-159^{r}$: "Ieśli słuszna rzecz iest/ aby Graeckie pisma Graekowie wykładali/ gdyż przeciw temu nie masz co rzec/ iż Graekowie lepiey pospolity swoy ięzyk vmieią z przyrodzenia/ aniż ludzie inszey nacyey z nauki/ ponieważ tedy to po Graecku Apostoł pisał/ nikt zaiste z Łacinnikow tego mieysca właśniey wyrozumieć y przystoyniey wyłożyć niemogł nad Chryzostoma świętego/ dla czego słuszniey na owych/ ktorych iest więcey/ *sententią* przyzwolić/ a niżli na Łacińskich Doktorow zdanie/ ktorzy taki wykład vczynili/ albo prze niedostatok ięzyka Łacińskiego w wyrażeniu własności słow Graeckich/ albo sie też więtszemu złemu opponuiąc/ mnieyszemu złemu mieysce podali."

[37] Piotr Skarga, *Na Treny y Lament Theophila Orthologa, Do Rusi Greckiego Nabożeństwa, Przestroga* (Cracow, 1610), p. 53.

purposes. Skarga gave full *dignitas* to Greek and Latin, though in practical terms this meant that Latin was the highest authority, since it was the eternal and catholic language employed by the Roman church. For Smotryc'kyj, conversely, Greek, Latin, and Slavonic possessed full *dignitas*, while Greek, as the language of the Eastern church, was the final authority.

Central to the Ruthenian language question was the discussion on the proper use of the Slavonic language and of the Ruthenian vulgar tongue, and the relationship between the two. Smotryc'kyj argued for the use of Ruthenian under certain circumstances where intelligibility was the main concern. The terms of Smotryc'kyj's argument were taken from the Reformation and Counter-Reformation discussion on the admissable use of the vulgar tongue. Certain Reformers argued for a wider use of an "intelligible" tongue and often cited passages from the Pauline letters, especially 1 Corinthians 14:13–19, in support of their position:

> Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret. For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.

For the Protestants, the prime importance of the Mass lay in its function as instruction for the faithful. Therefore, the Reformers argued, the Mass should be celebrated in a language which the entire community of believers could understand. Luther was hesitant to demand the exclusive use of the vernacular. Nonetheless, in Article III (*De missa*) of the *Confessio Augustana*, we find a blurring of the old distinction between the solemn portions of the Mass, which had to be celebrated in a sacral language, and the homily, which, for the sake of explanation, might be read in the vulgar tongue:

> Our churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the Mass. For the Mass is retained still among us, and celebrated with great reverence; yea, and almost all the ceremonies that are in use, saving that with the things sung in Latin we mingle certain things sung in German at various

parts of the service, which are added for the people's instruction. For therefore alone we have need of ceremonies, that they may teach the unlearned.

This is not only commanded by St. Paul, to use a tongue that the people understand (1 Cor. xiv. 9), but man's law hath also appointed it.[38]

Other Protestant groups (cf. the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* of Bucer and Capito) called for the celebration of the entire Mass in the vulgar tongue.[39]

The Council of Trent responded to, among other things, the Protestant statements on the language of the Mass. As Arno Borst has noted, "the third session in 1562–1563 drew the dividing line again between the language of liturgy and that of the sermon, between the language of culture and the vernacular, which had grown unclear since the Reformation."[40] Nonetheless, in the period after the Council of Trent, the Catholics, too, made use of works of confessional propaganda in the vulgar tongue, especially in areas of intense competition with the Protestants, such as the eastern lands of the Polish Commonwealth.

Smotryc'kyj received his education at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, in the Orthodox center of Ostrih, the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius, and in several academies and universities of Protestant Germany. Thus, he certainly came into contact with these discussions in a variety of contexts. Without implying any direct influence on Smotryc'kyj's thought, it is worth noting that the Pauline argument in favor of the use of the vulgar tongue was employed by many confessional propagandists, both Catholic and Protestant, who were active in the Polish Commonwealth. The Calvinist Mikołaj Rej, for example, drew on 1 Corinthians 14 in defending the use of Polish in his *Postylla* (Cracow, 1577):

[38] English translation and Latin text cited according to Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), p. 34: "Falso accusantur Ecclesiae nostrae, quod Missam aboleant; retinetur enim Missa apud nos, et summa reverentia celebratur. Servantur et usitatae ceremoniae fere omnes, praeterquam quod Latinis cantionibus (neben lateinischem Gesang) admiscentur alicubi Germanicae, quae additae sunt ad docendum populum. Nam ad hoc unum opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos. Et non modo Paulus praecipit (1 Cor. xiv. 9) uti lingua intellecta populo in ecclesia, sed etiam ita constitutum est humano jure."

[39] See H. P. A. Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire* (Rome, 1950), pp. 39–77.

[40] Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel*, 3, pt. 1:1173.

> Since St. Paul admonishes us strongly to speak that language in God's Church which everyone understands, saying, that it is of greater benefit to say five words in the language which people understand, than five thousand in that which they do not understand. And I also bring this to mind: how can a Christian say amen, even if I were to say the good words, if he does not understand what I speak?[41]

Similar lines of reasoning were also used by Catholics in their arguments in favor of the propagandistic use of the vulgar tongue. For example, in the Polish preface to his Lithuanian translation of Jakub Wujek's *Postylla mniejsza*, Mykolas Daukša drew on the Pauline argument, referring here to Romans 10:14–15:

> But I do not say this with the intent of condemning fluency and knowledge in foreign languages (which has always had and has its praise and value among all peoples), especially of the Polish language, which, through the dear union of our Grand Duchy with the glorious Polish Crown, is almost native to us. Rather, I only condemn the neglect of, disgust for, and almost rejection of our own Lithuanian language. God grant that we come to our senses, and that we sometime arise from this lethargy. Do we not see how many corners of our Grand Duchy perish through ignorance of the things which belong to the faith and to the salvation of souls? How many even until today live in simple-mindedness, in crude sins, in pagan superstitions? Do we not hear how many of them die after an evil and unchristian life and go to eternal perdition? Whence does this come? Only from the abandonment of the mother tongue, from the neglect of the native language. For how can the simple people understand the things that are good and bring salvation, if he who is to teach does not know their language or is disgusted by it? How will they hear and believe, says St. Paul, if they do not have a preacher? How will they act, if they do not understand the teacher?[42]

[41] Cited according to Taszycki, *Obrońcy języka polskiego*, p. 70: "Gdyż św. Paweł nas srodze z tego upomina, abyśmy w Cerkwi bożej tym językiem mówili, któremu by wszytcy rozumieli, powiedając, iż jest więtszy pożytek powiedzieć pięć słów tym językiem, któremu by ludzie zrozumieli, niżli pięć tysięcy, któremu by nie zrozumieli. Przypominając też to, iż jako może rzec krześcijański człowiek: amen, chociabych ta dobre słowa mówił, gdyż nie zrozumie, co ja będę mówił."

The same Pauline argument is found in the anonymous introduction to the Polish translation of Stanisław Orzechowski's *De bello adversus Turcas suscipiendo . . . ad equites Polonos oratio* (Cracow, 1543); see Taszycki, ibid., p. 88.

[42] Cited according to M. Daukša, *"Postilla Catholica" Jakuba Vujka v litovskom perevode Nikólaja Daukši*, ed. E. A. Vol'ter (St. Petersburg, 1904), pp. 2–3: "Lecz to nie tym vmysłem mowię, abym miał ganić biegłość y vmieiętność postronnych ięzykow, (ktora v wszystkich ludzi chwałę y cenę zawsze swoię ma y miała) zwłaszcza Polskiego, ktory nam przez ono miłe ziednoczenie W. X. naszego s sławną Koroną Polską, niemal przyrodzony iest. Ale tylko ganię zaniedbanie, a zbrzydzenie y

Nonetheless, for the Catholics, the strict distinction between the language of the liturgy and the language of the homily had to be maintained; here again St. Paul provided the scriptural justification for a linguistic policy. Jakub Wujek, for example, made the following annotation to 1 Corinthians 14:39 ("Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues") in his New Testament of 1593:

Therefore, why do the apostates forbid that the Mass be held and other prayers and church hymns be performed in Latin, as it has always been maintained since the beginning in the Christian Church? And especially since the Latin language is not new, nor foreign, nor unknown, but usual and known to all Christian nations. And it suffices, according to the Apostle, that one prophesy, i.e., that the sermon be given and the Writ explained, in the common language.[43]

Smotryc'kyj's arguments for the use of the Ruthenian vulgar tongue must be understood in the context of both the Reformation argument for "intelligibility" and the Counter-Reformation concerns about determining the limits for the permissable use of the "common tongue." Smotryc'kyj's translation of the *Homiletic Gospel* from the sacred Greek and Slavonic languages into Ruthenian should be viewed as a response to the editors of an earlier Slavonic version of the work. In the preface to the Church Slavonic edition published in Zabludov in 1569, the following statement had been made by (or at least in the name of) Alexander Xodkevyč:

niemal odrzucenie ięzyka naszego właśnie Litewskiego. O Boże day żebyśmy się obaczyli, y z tego veternu kiedyż tedyż powstali. Jzali nie widziemy iako wiele kątow W.X. naszego nieznaiomością rzeczy do wiary y zbawienia dusznego należących ginie? iak wiele w prostocie, w grubych grzechach, zabobonach pogańskich, y po dziś dzień żyie? Jzali nie słyszemy iak ich wiele vmiera w złym y nie Krześciańskim żywocie? a na zatracenie wieczne idzie. To skąd? iedno z opuszczenia ięzyka oyczystego, z zaniedbania przyrodzoney mowy. Jako bowiem prostota zrozumie rzeczy dobre y zbawienne? kiedy ten ktory vczyć ma, albo ięzyka iego niezna albo się im brzydzi, iako będą słyszeć, y wierzyć mowi Paweł S. ieśli nie maią Przepowiadacza? iako czynić? ieśli nie zrozumieią nauczyciela?"

43 Jakub Wujek, trans., *Nowy Testament* (Cracow, 1593), p. 616: "Czemuż tedy odszczepieńcy zabraniaią/ aby ięzykiem Łacińskiem Mszę miewano/ y insze modlitwy y śpiewania kościelne odprawowano: iako sie zawsze od początku w kościele Chrześcijańskim zachowało? A zwłaszcza iż ięzyk Łaciński nie iest nowy/ ani obcy/ ani nieznaiomy: ale wszytkim narodom Chrześcijańskim zwyczayny y wiadomy. A dosyć iest/ według Apostoła/ żeby ięzykiem pospolitym prorokowano/ to iest kazanie miewano y pisma wykładano."

I had given thought to translating this book into the vulgar tongue for the sake of its being understood by the simple people, and I was very concerned about this. And wise men, learned in this writing, informed me that no small error is caused by the translation from the old expressions to the new. Such errors are to be found today in the books of the new translation. Therefore, I ordered this book to be printed as it was written long ago. It is not hidden to anyone, nor is it difficult to understand. And its reading is beneficial, especially to those who diligently and carefully strive to find that which they seek. And they will find it.[44]

Smotryc'kyj claimed that the older Slavonic versions of the *Homiletic Gospel* had become of little use in instructing the faithful, due to the unintelligibility of the language. Therefore, he had undertaken the Ruthenian translation of the work:

Since it is the duty of every Christian preacher not to compose discourses on the unintelligible secrets of the mysteries of faith, but to teach simple and ignorant people God's will and commandments. The alert and wise preacher should seek not glory among his listeners on account of the quickness of his wit, but only the benefit of their salvation. He should further remember that saying of God's chosen vessel, that it is a more useful thing to speak five words in an intelligible tongue, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue (especially in instruction for the people). For although even the most costly jewel, which has been buried in the ground, moves one to try to find it, nonetheless, through its secret hiddenness, it does not yield any benefit. So the most costly and sure jewel that had been buried through the secretiveness of the Slavonic language in the *Homiletic Gospel* now (through God's grace and help) has been unearthed through the intelligibility of the Ruthenian tongue and returned and submitted to its first benefit and use; and having appeared under the title of Your Grace's noble name, it will not cease to spread and declare the glory of Your Grace's most glorious house on all sides and for all times.[45]

[44] Cited according to I. Karataev, *Opisanie slavjano-russkix knig napečatannyx kirillovskimi bukvami*, vol. 1: *S 1591 po 1652*, Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk, 34, no. 2 (1883): 165: "Pomyslilъ že bylъ esmi i se, iže by siju knihu, vyrazuměnija radi prostyx ljudej, preložiti na prostuju molvu, i imělъ esmi o tom popečenie velikoe. I sovešč̌aša mi ljudi mdrye, vtom pismě učenye, iže prekladaniemъ zdavnyxъ poslovicъ na novye, pomylka činitsja nemalaja. Jakože i nně obrětaetsja vknihaxъ novaho perevodu. Toho radi siju knihu jako zdavna pisanuju, velělъ esmi ee vydrukovati, kotoraja koždomu ne estъ zakryta, i kvyrazuměniju netrudna, i kъ čitaniju polezna. A naipače těmъ kotorye sъ priležaniemъ, i so vnimániemъ iskomoe obrěsti vosxoščjutъ, i obrjaščutъ."

[45] Smotryc'kyj, *Evhlie učitelnoe*, p. IV^{v}: "Khdyž to estъ každoho Xristianskoho Kaznoděi povinnost, ne diškursy o neponjatyx věry taemnic skrytostjax stroiti, ale voli i prikazanjam Bozskim prostyx i neukix ljudej učiti. Bačnyj i mudryj Kaznoděja

Though Smotryc'kyj's works contain none of the explicit prohibitions against the use of Ruthenian for sacral and other elevated purposes of the sort found in the works of Ivan Vyšens'kyj and Josafat Kuncevyč,[46] it is clear that he adhered to the distinction between sacred and apostolic languages. Much in the way Polish Jesuits such as Wujek or Skarga felt compelled to provide postils and lives of the saints in Polish in order to offset Protestant propaganda, Smotryc'kyj had recourse to the "baser and more vulgar tongue" in order to provide the Orthodox faithful with texts for personal devotion to replace the heterodox and Catholic works which they had read up to that point.

Smotryc'kyj was not alone among the Orthodox in adapting elements of both the Protestant and the post-Tridentine Catholic linguistic programs. Of particular interest in this regard is Pamvo Berynda's postscript to Tarasij Levonyč Zemka's Ruthenian translation of the *Triodъ postnaja* (Kiev, 1627). Berynda first cited the Protestant interpretation of 1 Corinthians 14:19 in justifying the use of the vulgar tongue in place of the usual sacred language:

You will not contradict this, Great Russians, Bulgarians, and Serbs, and others similar to us in Orthodoxy. This was done through the zeal and desire of the nobility, townspeople, and other people of other estates of our nation of Little Rus'ia who have studied the profound Slavonic language which has understanding and wisdom, just as Greek and other writings fixed

---

ne slavy z bystrosti dovtěpu svoeho u sluxačov, ale samoho, v zbavenju ix, požitku šukati, i na onuju, vybranoho načinja Bžho, pověst, iž pjat slov vyrozuměnym, aněž tmami neponjatym jazykom (v nauce zvlašča do naroda) moviti požitečnějšaja reč estъ, pomněti povinen. I najkoštovnějšij abověm v zemlju zakopanyj klejnot, xot starane do najdenja sebe porušaet požitku odnak žadnoho, utaennoju skritostju svoeju ne činit. Toj koštovnyj a pevnyj v Evhlii Učitelnom Slovenskoho jazyka skritostju zakopanyj klejnot, teper (za laskoju i pomočju Bžeju) Ruskoho jazyka ponjatem otkopanyj, i do peršoho požitku i uživanja privernenyj i podanyj, pod titulom zacnoho imeni Vms, na svět vyšedši, slavy vysoce slavnoho domu Vms, po vsěxъ storonax, na vsě potomnyi časy, roznositi i holositi ne perestanet."

46 Thus, in the matter of retaining the distinction between sacred and apostolic languages, major figures from both sides of the confessional divide were in general agreement. Vyšens'kyj forbade the use of the vulgar tongue in reading scripture during the liturgy, but urged that the reading be explained simply ("po prostu") after the liturgy for the sake of people's understanding ("dlja zrozumenija ljudskoho"; see Višenskij, *Sočinenija*, p. 23). In similar terms, the Uniate archbishop of Vitebsk, Josaphat Kuncevyč, forbade the explanation of the Slavonic words in Ruthenian when *reading* the Gospel, or some prayer or ectene aloud. The use of the vulgar tongue was permitted in the interpretation of the Gospel, after it had been read, so that the simple people might understand (see Martel, *La langue polonaise*, p. 99).

by grammar . . . And with this in view, having done this for the use and benefit of our brethren, we trust in the Lord that we have not erred. . . . We have obeyed the Apostle who said: "In the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding that I might teach others, than ten thousand words in a tongue."[47]

Berynda sought, however, to distance himself from advocacy of the exclusive use of the vulgar tongue; he called on the Catholic understanding of 1 Corinthians 14:39 in permitting the reading of the work in Slavonic as well:

Please, taking the Slavonic Synaxaria, read those which you can more easily obtain. Then, we bless you with the Apostle, saying: "Covet to prophesy, and do not forbid to speak in tongues."[48]

Here Berynda makes use of the interpretative framework provided by Wujek's annotation (cf. fn. 43). Church Slavonic has taken the place of Latin as the "tongue" in which one is not to be forbidden to speak.

5. Smotryc'kyj's views on the relative authority of the language under discussion also shaped his approach to the problem of the *norm* of Slavonic and Ruthenian. While Smotryc'kyj looked to Greek sources in his programmatic statements, it was Latin humanistic grammar which provided him with much of his information on the structure of a grammar, including some of the Hellenisms which appear in his discussion.[49] The imitation of Greek and Latin grammar played a crucial role in his efforts to provide a fixed norm for Church Slavonic. References to classical grammar abound in Smotryc'kyj's work, though in the sections "On Orthography" and

[47] Cited according to Titov, *Materijaly*, p. 178: "Protivo semu a ne prerěkuete velikorossi, bolhari, i srъbi i pročii podobnii namъ v pravoslavii: sъtvorisja se revnostiju i želěniemъ roda našeho Maloj Rossii blhorodnyxъ, hraždanskixъ, i pročix različnaho pričta ljudej naučivšixъsja slovenskaho jazyka hlubokorazumnaho, imějuščaho razumъ i mdrostь, jakože hrečeskaa i pročaa hrammatičeska pisania . . . Těmъže i my smotreniem se sъtvorše, radi polzy i priobrětenia Bratii svoei upovaem o Hě jako ne pohrěšixom . . . povinuxomsja Apslu hljušču: vъ crkvi xošču pjat slovesъ umom moim hlati, da iny polzuju neželi tmy slovesъ jazykomъ."

[48] Cited according to Titov, *Materijaly*, p. 179: "Izvoljaaj že, vzem Sinaksaria Slovenskaja pročitavaj sebě, jaže udobněe iměti vъzmožeši. Taže, cěluemъ vasъ sъ Apslomъ. Revnuete že Prročestvovati, a eže hlati jazyki ne vъzbranjajte."

[49] See Ostap Kociuba, "The Grammatical Sources of Meletij Smotryc'kyj's Church Slavonic Grammar of 1619" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975), p. 16.

"On Etymology" he was concerned most with simply regulating the extent to which Greek and Latin (and occasionally Hebrew) orthography and morphology should be retained in words borrowed from those languages in Church Slavonic.[50] Here classical grammar influenced Smotryc'kyj on a more fundamental level, in the idea that adverbs in *-no* were to be used as Slavonic equivalents to the Greek verbal adjective in *-eon* and the Latin gerundive in *-dum* expressing necessity, e.g., *lektěon, legendum, čitatelno* (138^{v}–139^{r}).

Greek grammar and the Greek text of the Bible were more influential in Smotryc'kyj's formulation of the rules governing Slavonic syntax. The many explicit comparisons of Greek and Latin syntax with Slavonic betray a desire to provide Slavonic with an expressive richness like that of the classical languages.[51] The fact that Smotryc'kyj did not simply cite the Ostrih Bible in his discussion of syntax, but provided a reading which more closely rendered the Greek source, provides implicit evidence for the great role held by Greek authorities in his grammatical thought.[52]

Without question Greek and Latin models are most evident in Smotryc'kyj's discussion of a Church Slavonic prosody. Indeed, he has long been accused of slavishly adapting an essentially alien prosodic system to Slavonic. Looking at the matter from a somewhat different perspective, we can say that Smotryc'kyj's respect for the *dignitas* of the Greek and Latin languages and literary traditions also informed his view of Slavonic prosody. The importance which he attached to classical models is apparent in the defense of Slavonic prosody with which he prefaced the final section of his grammar: Smotryc'kyj judged it possible to write poetry in Slavonic on the grounds that Ovid, in his exile among the "Sarmatian nations," had learned their language perfectly and had written poetry ("stixi ili věrši") in the Slavonic dialect.[53]

Little can be said about Smotryc'kyj's views on the norm of Ruthenian, since explicit information is limited to a few comments in the grammar. Nonetheless, some data can be elicited from his practice. For example, it may be possible to determine to what

[50] See Smotryc'kyj, *Hrammatiky*, pp. 5^{v}, 7^{r}, 9^{r}, 24^{v}, 25^{v}, 29^{v}, 35^{r}, 47^{v}, 50^{r}, 50^{v}, 51^{v}, 52^{r}, 53^{v}, 57^{r}, 58^{v}, 59^{r}, 60^{r}, 62^{r}, 63^{r-v}, 66^{v}, 67^{v}.
[51] Smotryc'kyj, *Grammatiki*, pp. 192^{v}, 194^{r}, 197^{r}, 200^{r}, 200^{v}, 202^{r}, 202^{v}, 216^{r}–217^{v}, 218^{r-v}, 219^{r}, 219^{v}, 222^{v}, 225^{v}, 227^{v}, 228^{r}, 231^{r}, 232^{v}, 237^{r}–238^{r}.
[52] See Frick, "Meletius Smotricky's Critical Use of Biblical Citations," and "Meletius Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question," pp. 117–137.
[53] Smotryc'kyj, *Grammatiki*, p. 234^{v}.

extent the Church Slavonic norm served as a "classical" model for Ruthenian.[54] I call attention here to one orthographic feature common to Smotryc'kyj's Church Slavonic and Ruthenian usage. In the grammar Smotryc'kyj made consistent use of *antistoecha* to distinguish between otherwise ambiguous singular and plural forms. Robert Mathiesen has described the antistoechum as:

> a set of homophonous spellings, the use of which is regulated, as for example *mür'no* 'pertaining to ointment' (from *mürō* 'ointment') and *mír'no* 'peaceful' (from *mírъ* 'peace'), *ezýkъ* (Greek *ethnos*) and *jezýkъ* (Greek *glōssa*), *oblakъ* (*o* in the singular) and *ōblaci* (ω in the plural) . . . .[55]

Mathiesen notes that the concept is of Greek origin, was first adapted to Church Slavonic in the fourteenth century, and remained a feature of most later forms of the language, including the "old" orthographies of Russian and Bulgarian.

Smotryc'kyj made use of two sets of antistoecha: є / ѥ (=e/ē) and o/ω (= o/ō). For example, we find the forms *prorokъ* (n. sg.) and *prorōkъ* (gen. pl.); *prorokomъ* (instr. sg.) and *prorokōmъ* (dat. pl.); *orestъ* (n. sg.) and *orēstъ* (gen. pl.); *serdcemъ* (instr. sg.) and *serdcēmъ* (dat. pl.). Indeed, *ō* is used as a marker of the plural in Smotryc'kyj's orthography even where no confusion of forms is possible. Thus there appear pairs of forms such as *voevoda* (n. sg.) and *voevōdъ* (gen. pl.) or *domъ* (n. sg.) and *domōvъ* or *dōmъ* (gen. pl.).

Both antistoecha are found in Smotryc'kyj's Ruthenian texts, as well. Due to the generalization of the *-ōv* ending for the gentive plural of masculines and the *-am* ending for the dative plural, the number of ambiguous cases in Ruthenian had been greatly reduced. The instrumental singular and dative plural of masculine and neuter soft stem nouns would seem to provide the only such ambiguities possible. On page IV^r of the Ruthenian preface to the grammar we find the instrumental singular *staranemъ* and the dative plural *učitelēmъ*. In the unambiguous cases Smotryc'kyj still used the "big" letter to mark the plural. For example, on page II^v of the same preface we find both the nominative singular *slovo* and the genitive plural *slōvъ*, or on page IV^r the genitive singular *školy* and on III^r the

54 See Tolstoj, "Vzaimootnošenie," pp. 262–63.

55 On the use of antistoecha in the Orthodox tradition before Smotryc'kyj, see Mathiesen, "Inflectional Morphology," pp. 35–36, and Harvey Goldblatt, "The Church Slavonic Language Question in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: Constantine Kostenečki's *Skazánie izъjavljénno o písmenex*," in *Aspects*, 1:75–77.

genitive plural *škōlь*. A more thorough study should determine whether and to what extent Church Slavonic usage and Smotryc'kyj's grammar (especially the section devoted to orthography) played a normative role in the use of Ruthenian by Smotryc'kyj and others.

Other sections of the grammar were clearly not thought to apply to Ruthenian. For example, the system of versification found in the grammar and based on the classical system of vowel length was apparently intended for use in Church Slavonic only. I base my assumption on the fact that Smotryc'kyj's own efforts to write Ruthenian verse followed the Polish syllabic model then in acceptance.[56]

It seems likely that Smotryc'kyj thought of the Ruthenian vulgar tongue as bearing the imprint, to varying degrees, of each of the other four languages discussed as a part of the Ruthenian language question. The Greek influence is evident primarily in the attempts to translate biblical texts into Ruthenian. The mark of Slavonic is perhaps clearest in Ruthenian orthography. Smotryc'kyj noted, moreover, that a certain orthographic feature not found in Slavonic had "gotten into the Ruthenian expressions from the Polish and Latin languages."[57]

It would seem that Smotryc'kyj and others conceived of Ruthenian as a mixed language which belonged to the same general system of linguistic conventions as Church Slavonic. Thus, in order to make up for Ruthenian's limited expressive capabilities, varying amounts of Slavonic could be added. An explicit reference to this practice is found in the preface to Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovec'kyj's *Zercalo bohoslovija* (Kiev, 1618). The author states that "both the vulgar tongue and Slavonic have been used in this book rather than the vulgar tongue throughout." This was because Slavonic had been introduced in order to cite Holy Scripture and to render theological subtleties.[58]

[56] For example, the verse preceding the version of the preface to the *Homiletic Gospel* dedicated to the Ogins'kyj and Volovyč families comprises fourteen lines of thirteen syllables in rhymed couplets, with a caesura after the seventh syllable:

> Dvojakii, pod helmomъ ednakim, klejnoty,
> Znamenityi, jasne, vyražajutъ cnoty
> Dvoxъ prezacnyxъ Familij, v odinъ domъ zlučonyxъ,
> V slavě, ažъ pod samoe nebo, vyvyšonyxъ. . . .

[57] Smotryc'kyj, *Grammatiki*, pp. 7^{r-v}.

[58] See Tolstoj, "Vzaimootnošenie," p. 253, and Struminsky, "Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands," pp. 30–31.

I have found no discussion of this problem in Smotryc'kyj's work. Nonetheless, it may be inferred from his practice that he used varying amounts of Slavonic in Ruthenian works for stylistic effect. Let us compare, for example, the *Homiletic Gospel* (Vevis, 1616) with the *Kazan'e* (Vilnius, 1620) on the death of Leontij Karpovyč. In the first work, intended for the instruction of "simple and ignorant people," all biblical citations were given in a Ruthenian translation. In the *Kazan'e*, on the other hand, a work which seems to have been addressed to a more sophisticated audience, the Bible is cited in Slavonic, thus lending the funeral oration greater stylistic variety.[59]

6. This study has dealt with theories and opinions about language and culture. In the Ruthenian lands at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, five linguistic media of varying levels of *dignitas* were in competition. One possible solution to the Ruthenian language question might have entailed the adoption of the language in use throughout the rest of the Polish Commonwealth—i.e., Latin—alongside the local vulgar tongue. It is likely that this was Skarga's preferred solution. Another response might have limited Orthodox usage to Slavonic and Ruthenian. This appears to have been the preference of Ivan Vyšens'kyj. Smotryc'kyj and many of his contemporaries sought to establish the *dignitas* and codify the norm of an Orthodox cultural language, Church Slavonic, and to introduce the limited use of the related local vulgar tongue, Ruthenian, without rejecting the benefit to be derived for the Orthodox Ruthenians from a use of Latin and Polish. In theoretical terms, Smotryc'kyj and others saw a functional equivalence between Latin and Church Slavonic, on the one hand, and between Polish and Ruthenian, on the other. Both Latin and Slavonic as supranational languages of church and culture could in some ways serve as "classical" models for the Polish and Ruthenian vulgar tongues. It is certainly possible that Smotryc'kyj made some use of the terms of the Polish linguistic debates of the sixteenth century in discussing the relationship between Slavonic and Ruthenian.

Certain aspects of these theoretical pronouncements seemed to have had less significance in practice. For example, Smotryc'kyj assigned highest authority to Greek, which, of the five languages in question, was certainly the least well known and the least often used

[59] See David A. Frick, "*Kazanie* Melecjusza Smotryckiego z lat 1620/21: Wersje ruska i polska," in *Studia z filologii polskiej i słowiańskiej* 23 (1985): 153–61.

by Ruthenian scholars. Second, although he attempted to provide rules allowing the use of Church Slavonic alongside Latin as a language for all elevated literary purposes, in practice Slavonic was used almost exclusively for liturgical purposes. Finally, many of Smotryc'kyj's statements concerning Ruthenian were in the form of desiderata calling for the publication of certain types of works: a catechism, lives of the saints, a postil.

One result of the Ruthenian linguistic controversies of the age of the Counter-Reformation would seem to be a general agreement that the new Ruthenian culture should be a symbiosis of Orthodox traditions with Latin learning. Many aspects of the debates of the 1610s and 1620s were put into practice by the next generation. The general outlines of Smotryc'kyj's cultural program for the Ruthenian nation are recognizable in the curriculum of the Kiev Mohyla Academy and in the types of books published in Kiev in the 1630s and 1640s.

The Ruthenian language question, moreover, was by no means of local interest only. Smotryc'kyj had envisaged a leading role for the Ruthenian nation in a cultural and spiritual revival of the other Orthodox Slavic nations. Although the Ruthenian culture elaborated in the debates of the early seventeenth century did not develop in the way the participants in the discussions might have envisaged or wished, it is certainly likely that some aspects of the Ruthenian debates provided models for other nations. Several studies have documented the immense influence exerted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Smotryc'kyj's grammar of Church Slavonic, and by the authority of Ruthenian scholars and books in general, among the Romanians and the Slavs of the Slavonic rite, including Uniates, Croatian *glagoljaši*, and all the Orthodox Slavs.[60] Perhaps future research will be able to determine to what extent the Ruthenian model for the relationship between Church Slavonic and

[60] On the wider influence of Smotryc'kyj's grammar, see I. Zasadkevič, *Meletij Smotrickij kak filolog* (Odessa, 1883); Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Hrammatiki Slavenskija Pravilnoe Syntagma*, ed. Olexa Horbatsch (Frankfurt am Main, 1974); Nimčuk, *Hramatyka Smotryc'koho*, pp. 90–111.

the vulgar tongue influenced the establishment of such mixed norms as Slavo-Serbian or Slavo-Bulgarian.[61]

University of California, Berkeley

[61] On the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century debates over the use of the vulgar tongue among the South Slavs, see: Micaela S. Iovine, "The 'Illyrian Language' and the Language Question among the Southern Slavs in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Aspects*, 1:101–156; N.I. Tolstoj, "Literaturnyj jazyk u serbov v XVIII veke," in *Slavjanskoe i balkanskoe jazykoznanie* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 154–97; V.P. Gudkov, "Bor'ba koncepcij 'slavenskogo' i 'prostogo' jazyka v istorii literaturnogo jazyka u serbov," in *Slavjanskoe i balkanskoe jazykoznanie*, pp. 198–211; Lionello Costantini, "Note sulla questione della lingua presso i Serbi tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo," in *Studi sulla questione della lingua presso gli Slavi*, pp. 163–224; Lionello Costantini, *Slavo ecclesiastico e volgare nella Grammatika Italianskaja di Vikentije Ljuština* (Florence, 1976); Riccardo Picchio, "Lo slavobulgaro di Paisij," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 14 (1966):77–112; Giuseppe Dell'Agata, "The Bulgarian Language Question from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Aspects*, 1:157–88.

The Ruthenian Language of Meletij Smotryc'kyj: Phonology

STEFAN M. PUGH

1. In historical studies of the Ukrainian and Belorussian languages, the term "Middle" is often used to describe the stage of development encompassing the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, much as it is used in studies of "Middle Russian." While it seems practical to speak of "Middle Ukrainian" or "Middle Belorussian" as a distinct phase in the history of these languages, such a label implies the existence of Ukrainian and Belorussian as distinct literary languages at this time. In fact, written texts of this period require special labels. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the language of non-Russian East Slavic literature underwent substantial changes: intense interaction with Polish and the revival of Church Slavonic for literary purposes served to obscure the development of regional features in the spoken languages. Consequently it is rarely possible to describe a document from this period as simply "Ukrainian" or "Belorussian," and a more general name is needed: here we will use "Ruthenian" in reference to the written language of the non-Russian East Slavic lands. In addition, however, texts from this period may reflect features more specific of either modern Ukrainian or modern Belorussian. Textual analysis often enables us to characterize more accurately the language of individual writers as either "Ukrainian-Ruthenian" or "Belorussian-Ruthenian"; these terms emphasize the general Ruthenian nature of a person's language, while at the same time indicating the presence of Ukrainian or Belorussian elements. Although we may still not be able to call the language analyzed "Ukrainian" or "Belorussian," it now becomes possible to treat it more precisely as part of the Ukrainian or the Belorussian linguistic tradition.[1]

[1] Studies on the differentiation of early Ukrainian and Belorussian texts are cited by George Y. Shevelov in his *Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979), p. 406.

2. Meletij Smotryc'kyj (ca. 1578–1633) was a scholar and polemicist best known for a grammar of the Church Slavonic language entitled *Hrammatiky Slavěnskyja právylnoe Sýntagma* (1619). He was born in the town of Smotryč, Podolia, today in the Ukraine, but spent much of his later life in Belorussian linguistic territory (Vilnius and Minsk). In current scholarship, therefore, Smotryc'kyj and his written language are identified by some as "Ukrainian" and by others as "Belorussian."[2] The present study analyzes his Ruthenian writings, in an attempt to characterize his language, if possible, as "Ukrainian-Ruthenian" or "Belorussian-Ruthenian."

I will not treat Smotryc'kyj's polemical treatises, written in Polish, or the Slavonic text of his grammar. My study is based on two texts written in Ruthenian: the short preface to Smotryc'kyj's grammar, and *Kazan'e na čestnyj pohreb o. Leontija Karpoviča*, a sermon delivered in 1620 in honor of L. Karpovič, deceased archimandrite of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius. The language of these texts is typical of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ruthenian, sometimes referred to as *prosta mova*;[3] its lexical and morphological components comprise East Slavic, Polish, and Church Slavonic elements, while its phonological component may be generally described as Ruthenian, because most features are common to Ukrainian and Belorussian. My analysis is devoted to the identification of Ruthenian phonological elements in Smotryc'kyj's language; the features found in *Kazan'e* and the preface to his grammar are classified according to their occurrence in modern Ukrainian and modern Belorussian.

3. The native Ukrainian/Belorussian phonological features in Smotryc'kyj's texts are partly hidden by his traditional orthography:

[2] Smotryc'kyj is considered Ukrainian by such Ukrainian scholars as Dmytro Čyževs'kyj (*History of Russian Literature* [The Hague, 1960], p. 359) and V. V. Nimčuk (*Meletij Smotryc'kyj, Hramatyka* [Kiev, 1979], p. 7). Yet even Čyževs'kyj once described him as "White Russian" (*Comparative History of Slavic Literatures* [Vanderbilt University Press, 1971], p. 93). Belorussian scholars generally claim him as Belorussian; thus we find he is included in *Istorija belorusskoj dooktjabr'skoj literatury*, V. V. Borisenko et al., eds. (Minsk, 1977), which, interestingly enough, does not mention *Kazan'e* among Smotryc'kyj's works; this text is, however, cited as a source for *Histaryčny slownik belaruskaj movy* (Minsk, 1982–) and *Histaryčnaja marfalohija belaruskaj movy*, A. M. Bulyka et al. (Minsk, 1979).

[3] For a discussion of *prosta mova*, see, e.g., Boris A. Uspenskij, "Diglossija i dvujazyčie v istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 27 (1983): 94.

as a grammarian of Church Slavonic he wrote in accordance with the "correct" orthographic norms of that language. Nevertheless, several Ruthenian characteristics can be identified.[4]

A listing of the phonological features of Smotryc'kyj's language follows. Of them, (a) through (c) are common to the majority of modern Ukrainian dialects (except those in the extreme north), while (d) through (f) are limited to the southwestern dialects; (g) is characteristic of south Ukrainian in general, with the exception of the Carpathian dialects in the extreme southwest.

(a) Common Slavic **ě* > [i]: The letter "jat'" (ѣ) is used etymologically in Church Slavonic and Ruthenian lexemes, and provides no evidence of the change **ě* > [i] or [i͡e]. It is clear, however, that this letter does in fact have the value [i] in Smotryc'kyj's language: jat' appears in place of the Latin letter *i* in many Polish lexemes. In words of Polish origin the writer was not constrained by traditional Cyrillic orthographic norms, and was able to represent phonetic [i] by means of the symbol which had this value in his system. Thus we find: *aně* (18a, 9)[5] < ani 'and not, nor'; *(a) bověm* (e.g., 9a, 14) < (a)bowim;[6] *dovtěpu* (22, 14) < dowcip 'keenness, intelligence', in modern Polish 'joke, wit'; *musělyby* (20a, 12) < music, now musieć 'to have to';[7] *nezlěčonyi* (28, 17) < niezliczony 'innumerable'; *něgdy* (18a, 18) < nigdy 'never'; *něm* (17, 2) < nim, 'before, by the time'; *něžli* (e.g., 6, 9) < niżli 'before then, than'; *ustavěčnyj* (e.g., 17a, 13) < ustawiczny

[4] Such features have been identified in his grammar as well; Olexa Horbatsch cites the following: coalescence of **i* and **y*, **ě* and **e* (north Ukrainian), unstressed **ę* and **e* (north Ukrainian), as well as the hardening of **r'* > *r* (east Podolian-Volhynian-Polissian), palatalized *ž'* in the sequence *žja/ž'a* (west Polissian), and the confusion of *xv-f*. Some of the above are not identified in the language of Smotryc'kyj's preface or *Kazan'e* (see O. Horbatsch, ed., *Hrammatiki Slavenskija Pravilnoe Syntagma. Jevje 1619. Kirchenslavische Grammatik* [*Erstausgbe*] [Frankfurt/Main, 1974], p. vii).

[5] Arabic-numeral page and line references follow S. Maslov's edition of *Kazan'e* in *Čtenie v istoričeskom obščestve Nestora-letopisca*, vol. 20 (Kiev, 1907), pp. 121–55. Roman-numeral citations refer to the preface to Smotryc'kyj's grammar, following O. Horbatsch's pagination (see fn. 4, above). Arabic-numeral references to the text of the grammar also follow Horbatsch. All forms cited from the preface have been checked against the facsimile edition of Smotryc'kyj's grammar (V. V. Nimčuk, Kiev, 1979); those cited from *Kazan'e* have been verified by referring to the manuscript (a microfilm of which I obtained for this purpose).

[6] *(A) bowiem* also occurs in Old Polish.

[7] Both forms are cited in *Słownik Staropolski*, while S. Reczek cites only *musić* in his *Podręczny Słownik Dawnej Polszczyzny* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1968).

'constant'; *věnšuet* (2, 11) < winszować 'to wish'; *věxrjačoj* (24a, 5) < wichrzyć 'to trouble, foment trouble'; *vněveč* (11, 9) < wniwecz 'nothing'; *vylěčati* (22, 17) < wyliczać 'to enumerate'.

(b) Coalescence of Common Slavic **y* and **i*. Although etymological spelling is the rule, this change is apparent in a few cases: *dosit'* (8a, 7) 'enough', next to *dosyt'* (17a, 15; 20, 11) < **y*; *pitajučujusja* (11a, 4) 'asking', next to *neispytani* (2a, 3) 'inscrutable' and *zapytanyi* (21a, 9) 'asked' < *-pyt-; *tisjača* (27a, 20) '1000' < **y*;[8] *vilivaly* (19a, 4) 'flowed out' < *vyliv-.

Although examples with *r* are not conclusive, when etymological **y* is involved, the spelling *-ri-* is not necessarily explained by the hardening of **r'* (whereas the converse, *-ry-* < **ri*, might be so explained). We may therefore cite the spelling *rixlěj* (22a, 13) 'more quickly' (< **y*) as another possible reflection of the coalescence of **y* and **i*; compare etymological *ryxlějšoho* (17, 13) 'earliest, most prompt'.

(c) Common Slavic **o* and **e* > [i] in closed syllables: This change is not generally reflected in Ruthenian texts until the mid-seventeenth century; however, in the Middle Ruthenian period the intermediate stage [u] is evident. In Smotryc'kyj's texts the letter *u* is never found in place of original *o* or *e*, but Greek omega *ω* is used in such a way as to suggest that it has a phonetic value that differs from [o], possibly a tense vowel [o], or even [u], representing an intermediate stage in the development **o* > [i].[9] Primarily written in place of **o*, the omega is found in the genitive and dative plural desinences of old *o*-stem feminines in the genitive plural before the #-desinence, where modern standard Ukrainian regularly has *i*: *jazykωv* (IIb, 1) 'languages', *sudωm* (6a, 10) 'judgments', *slωv* (e.g., 8, 2) 'words', *škωl* (III, 3) 'schools', and many others. Compare examples from **e*: *rodičωv* (e.g., 15a, 18) 'parents', *otščepencωv* (24a, 11) 'apostates'.

It should not be surprising that these spellings appear to be limited to specific morphological categories, since it is precisely in such environments that the Ukrainian development of **o* and **e* is most evident. The fact that the desinences *-ωv* and *-ωm* were generalized

[8] Although the variant with *i* is also attested in early documents; see I. I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkogo jazyka*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1893–1912), 3:1073.

[9] Smotryc'kyj himself describes the omega as a long vowel; see p. 2b of the grammar.

in Smotryc'kyj's language must not necessarily prevent us from interpreting *ω* as a vowel differing in quality from [o]. The develoment of **-ov* > [uv] > modern Ukrainian *-iv* is well documented. The generalization of *-am* for the dative plural was not finally completed until the early eighteenth century, and reflexes of **-om/-em* are still found in some modern dialects (including Podolian);[10] it is therefore possible that *-ωm* in Smotryc'kyj's language represents a reflex of **-om*, differing phonetically from [om].[11]

(d) On the basis of our study it may be possible to infer that Smotryc'kyj's language was characterized by incomplete hardening of **r'*.[12] Word-finally the letter *r* is often followed by the front jer letter (e.g., *alfavitar'* [IIIb, 7] 'alphabet', *vnutr'* [lla, 2] 'inside', *šir'* [28, 9] 'expand!'). Soft *r'* also occurs before *a*: *pastyr'* (20a, 6) 'shepherd', *pastyrja* (26a, 9), *pastyrjami* (27a, 3), *morja* (17, 18) 'sea', a.o.

In preconsonantal position **r'* hardened very early in East Slavic; as expected, the front jer letter does not appear in this environment in the texts studied. Frequently, however, a superscript grapheme representing a back jer (ꙿ) is written above a hardened preconsonantal *r* (e.g., *navěrnuju* 'certain'), indicating a possible awareness on the part of the author that a jer letter had earlier been written in this position.

(e) There is no evidence of gemination of consonants in the Common Slavic sequence "consonant + front jer + *j*" (**-Cьj-*); this is not unusual, since spellings containing doubled consonants are not widely found until the early- to mid-seventeenth century. More significantly, some modern southwest Ukrainian dialects near the region of Meletij's birth (e.g., west Podolian dialects) are characterized by the lack of such consonant gemination (whether this reflects its loss or the original ungeminated consonant); we may therefore be justified in positing ungeminated consonants in Smotryc'kyj's language.

10 S. P. Bevzenko, A. P. Hryščenko et al., *Istorija ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1978), pp. 106–107.

11 The question of the phonetic value of the Greek omega in Middle Ruthenian deserves more attention; I will examine it more closely in another, separate study.

12 Modern Podolian no longer has palatal *r'*; since some of the neighboring Dniester (*Naddnistrjans'ki*) dialects still do, it is not inconceivable that west Podolian had not yet hardened **r'* completely by 1600. On the modern dialect situation, see F. T. Žylko, *Narysy z dialektolohiji ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1966), p. 198.

(f) The genitive plural desinence in old *i*-stem nouns and the old *n*-stem noun *den'* 'day' are without exception spelled -*ij* (written -*ий* in the manuscripts) from Common Slavic *-ьjь, e.g., *dnij* (13,21) 'days', *ljudij* (15,11) 'people'.

Since the north and southeast Ukrainian desinence in these stems is -*ej*, as it is in the other East Slavic languages, the spelling -*ij* could be interpreted as Church Slavonic; in Smotryc'kyj's texts, however, grammatical morphemes that are identifiable as purely Church Slavonic are confined to the Church Slavonic lexicon. The fact that the occurrence of the desinence -*ij* is not so limited allows us to interpret it as -*yj* (<*-*ij*), a feature of southwest Ukrainian. In addition, Smotryc'kyj uses this desinence in words of Polish origin (where Polish has -*i*, not -*ij*), e.g., *okoličnostij* (14a,15) 'occasions'; since he regularly uses Ruthenian grammatical desinences with Polish lexemes, this provides further confirmation that -*ij* is a native Ruthenian rather than a Slavonic form.

(g) The following spellings in Smotryc'kyj's texts indicate the possible retention of voiced consonants before voiceless consonants:[13] *b*[*o*]*homerzkoi* (4,3) 'God-hating', cf. modern Ukrainian *bohomerz'kyj*; *rozstatisja* (24,6) 'to part with', cf. Ukrainian *rozstatysja*; *dožčem* (22a,2) 'rain';[14] *xudozstva* (IV,3) 'art'; *bozsk*- (e.g., 2,15) 'of God'; *bližšymi* (21a,4) 'closest'; *naNižšoho* (19a,5) 'lowest'.

4. Three phonological features are present that are characteristic of both modern Ukrainian and modern Belorussian. Other features common to both languages are not attested because of Smotryc'kyj's traditional orthography.

(a) Hardening of *c *š *ž *č *šč. The affricate *c* is evidently hard in Smotryc'kyj's language, since the spellings -*cja*-, -*cju*-, and final -*cь* do not occur; the vowel-letter є, which may represent *je*-

[13] Although we use the traditional terms "voiced" and "voiceless" here, Henning Andersen has shown that tenseness rather than voice is distinctive in Ukrainian; cf. his article "Indo-European Voicing Sandhi in Ukrainian," *Scando-Slavica* (Copenhagen), 15 (1969):157–69.

[14] Shevelov states that this spelling, current in the "Middle Ukrainian" period, reflects phonetic [ždž] (*A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language*, p. 483). It is not inconceivable, however, that [žč] is indicated; in view of modern Ukrainian *došč*, it is possible that the form cited in our study represents an intermediate stage in the development **doždž* > *došč*.

initially,[15] only serves to differentiate plural and singular noun paradigms and most likely does not indicate palatalization in a preceding *c*, e.g., *mladencjem* (IV, 3) 'child' dative plural, vs. *mladencem* instrumental singular (see p. 5b of the grammar for other examples). The letters *š*, *ž*, *č*, and šč also do not occur with a front jer letter (soft sign), and a jotized vowel-letter (ju) is only in evidence after *ž* and *č*: *žjupelom* (13a, 16) 'sulfur', and *kažju* (23a, 19) 'say, command' are Church Slavonicisms, the former occurring in a biblical passage (Apoc 21:8), the latter following Smotryc'kyj's Church Slavonic verbal paradigms (cf. p. 172b of the grammar); *č* + *ju* is found in all forms of the verb *čuti* 'to hear, feel' (e.g., *čjujet* [13, 7] 'hears') and once in *čjužo-* (18, 7) 'foreign'. It is unclear whether the spelling *čj-* indicates that the affricate is still palatal or if it is merely attributable to orthographic tradition; since Žylko and Zilyns'kyj have shown that there are Ukrainian dialects retaining palatal *č'*, the former cannot be ruled out as a possibility.[16] The frequent use of the letter *y* in place of *i* after all the palatals (including *č*) leads one to believe that *č* was not generally palatal, but if at all only before *-u*: *živučym* (19a, 3) 'living', cf. *bližšymi* (21a, 4) 'closest', a.o.

(b) By Smotryc'kyj's time, **g* had been spirantized in Ruthenian, as is evident from the texts analyzed: the letters - ʃ and Г (introduced by Smotryc'kyj himself)[17] represent the foreign voiced velar stop [g], in place of the old digraph КГ. Cf. the form *hojnosti* (22a, 5) 'generosity' < Polish *hojność* 'generosity', written with Cyrillic Г (= Ukrainian [h]). The new graphemes are used in words of Polish, Latin, and Greek origin: cf. *srogim* (11, 14) 'strict, severe', *argumenta* (IIIa, 11) 'arguments', *grammatika* (IV, 1) 'grammar' (but compare *hrammatiki* [II, 3], written with Г).

(c) Both Ukrainian and Belorussian experienced the loss of initial **jь*-, a change reflected in Smotryc'kyj's language. The preposition *z* < **iz* and **sъ* occurs 71x, while *iz''* is not found. The prefix *iz-*, on the other hand, is attested 23x in Church Slavonic lexemes,

[15] Smotryc'kyj states that this grapheme may have the value "ie"; pp. 2–3b of the grammar.

[16] Žylko, *Narysy z dialektolohiji ukrajins'koji movy*, pp. 61–63, 192. I. Zilyns'kyj, *A Phonetic Description of the Ukrainian Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), p. 116.

[17] V. V. Nimčuk, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj. Hramatyka* (Kiev, 1979), p. 34. V. V. Aničenka, "Vyvučenne mjascovaj raznavidnasci knižnaslavjanskaj movy w hramatycy M. Smatryckaha," in *Sxidno-slov''jans'ki hramatyky XVI–XVII st. Materialy sympoziumu* (Kiev, 1982), pp. 122–27.

while the Ruthenian prefix *z-* occurs only 7x. Loss of *i-* in the verb *mětí, maju* 'have' is found 50x (e.g., *majut"* [IIb, 8], *měl"* [7a, 7], once in *sčeznet"* (24a, 12) 'disappear'. Retention of *i-* is found only in the verb 'to have' in Slavonic passages, e.g., *imate* (10a, 20), *imam"* (24, 3).

Initial *i-* alternates with *j-* in Ukrainian and Belorussian when following a vowel; evidence of this alternation is found once in the spelling of the conjunction *i* 'and' as *j* (written й): . . . *službu* . . . *dbale j ostorožne obxodil"*. . . (21, 7–8) '. . . he celebrated the liturgy mindfully and carefully. . .'.

5. Smotryc'kyj's texts do not reflect any phonological features that are common only to south Belorussian and north Ukrainian (akan'e, diphthongization of **e* and **o* in closed syllables, realization of unstressed **ę* as [e]), or that are identifiable as Belorussian alone (cekanne/dzekanne).

In light of the results of this analysis, then, we may be justified in labelling the phonological component of Smotryc'kyj's language as "Ukrainian-Ruthenian"; the only "Belorussian" phonological features occurring in his texts are also characteristic of Ukrainian.

Future studies dealing with the morphological, lexical, and syntactic components will allow the formulation of more general conclusions about Meletij Smotryc'kyj's language.

Duke University

The 1652 Beauplan Maps of the Ukraine

A. B. PERNAL and D. F. ESSAR

Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan, a Huguenot French noble from Normandy, was a talented writer, a skilled military engineer, and a renowned cartographer. During his lifetime he served four monarchs: Louis XIII (1610–1643) and Louis XIV (1643–1715) of France, and Zygmunt III (1587–1632) and Władysław IV (1632–1648) of Poland.[1]

[1] The following publications provide valuable information for a biography of Beauplan: A. Anthiaume, "Le Dieppois Guillaume Le Vasseur, sieur de Beauplan, ingénieur du roi au XVII^{e} siècle," *Comitè des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Bulletin de la section de gèographie* 41 (1926): 209–219; Il'ko Borshchak, "Boplaniana," *Litopys polityky, pys'menstva i mystetstva*, no. 17, 2 (1924): 258, and "Giiom Levasser de Boplan 1672–6.XII.–1923. (Z nahody 250 rokiv ioho smerty) [*sic*]," ibid., no. 1, 1 (1923): 8–10; Karol Buczek, "Beauplan Wilhelm Le Vasseur de," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 1 (1935): 384–86; idem, "Beauplaniana," *Wiadomości Służ by Geograficznej* 8 (1934): 1–35; idem, "Ze studiów nad mapami Beauplana," ibid., 7 (1923): 20–53; idem, *Dzieje kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku: Zarys analityczno-syntentyczny* (Wrocław, 1963), and the expanded English translation, *The History of Polish Cartography from the 15th to the 18th Century*, trans. Andrzej Potocki (Wrocław, 1966); Czesław Chowaniec, "Une carte militaire polonaise au XVII^{e} siècle (Les origines de la carte de l'Ukraine dressée par Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan)," *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire* 3 (1952): 546–62; Mikołaj Dzikowski, "Zbiór kartograficzny Uniwersyteckiej Bibljoteki Publicznej w Wilnie," *Ateneum Wileńskie* 8 (1931–1932): 286–321; D. F. Essar and A. B. Pernal, "Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*: A Bibliography of Editions and Translations," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 4 (1982): 485–99; Augustin Galitzin's introduction to a reedition of the 1660 edition of Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie* (Paris, 1861); Stanisław Herbst, "Prace kartograficzne Beauplana-Hondiusa z roku 1652," *Przegląd Historyczny* 43 (1952): [125–128]; R. Hervé, "Levasseur de Beauplan's Maps of Normandy and Brittany," *Imago Mundi* 17 (1956): 73–75; R. Jacyk, "Analiza mapy Ukrainy Beauplana," *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*, 9 (1931): 66–89; V. A. Kordt, *Materialy po istorii russkoi kartografii*, 2 pts. (Kiev, 1899–1910); V. T. Liaskoronskii's introduction in *Gil'om' Levasser-de-Boplan' i ego istoriko-geograficheskie trudy otnositel'no Iuzhnoi Rossii*, a Russian translation of the 1660 edition of Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie* (Kiev, 1901); Bolesław Olszewicz, "Kartografia polska XVII wieku," *Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny* 9 (1931): 109–138; A. B. Pernal and D. F. Essar, "The 1673 Variant of Beauplan's General Map of Ukraine," *Cartographica* 20 (1983): 92–98; M. H. Vavrychyn, "Karty ukrains'kykh zemel H. Boplana v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh SRSR," *Bibliohrafichna informatsiia i suchasnist'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 116–27; and Zbigniew

The son of a respected hydrographer also named Guillaume Le Vasseur (d. 1643), Beauplan was born most probably in Dieppe in 1600. Enlisting in the army at an early age, he chose to specialize in military engineering, and at the same time gained experience in the related areas of artillery and cartography. In 1616, serving under the command of Marshal Concino Concini, Marquis d'Ancre, he already held the rank of lieutenant.

Political turbulence and religious intolerance in his homeland were two important factors, among others, that influenced the young French officer to accept an offer to continue his military career in the faraway Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Arriving there at the close of 1630, he was posted in the Ukraine, to an artillery unit of the Crown army, which was commanded by Crown Grand Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski and then, after Koniecpolski's death in 1646, by Mikołaj Potocki. In 1637 he was appointed courtier of Władysław IV and, probably shortly thereafter, he could list the following title and rank after his name: *Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis architectus militaris et capitaneus artilleriae.* Beauplan participated in the quelling of the 1637 and 1638 Cossack rebellions, as well as in the very difficult campaign against the Tatars in the winter of 1646–1647. For reasons that are not clear, Potocki released him from military service in the Crown army on 29 March 1647.

Before departing to France, Beauplan spent some time in Gdańsk. There he corrected, revised, and completed certain maps and illustrations which were being engraved by Willem Hondius (b. after 1597, d. 1652), who was well-known in the publishing and cartographic fields and held the official title *Sacrae Regiae Maiestatis chalcographus privilegiatus.*[2] Beauplan would reappear in Gdańsk, for the same purpose, in 1650.

On his return to France, Beauplan resided in Dieppe; in 1650 he purchased property in Rouen and moved there permanently. Once again his homeland's political climate, shaped by the Fronde and other developments, failed to offer the security he desired. Thus, for a second time Beauplan decided to depart from France—this

---

Wójcik's introduction in *Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beauplana opisy Ukrainy*, a Polish translation of the 1660 edition of Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie* (Warsaw, 1972).

[2] For a biography of Hondius, see J. C. Block, *Das Kupferstick-Werk des Wilhelm Hondius* (Gdańsk, 1891); and the more recent studies of Irena Fabiani-Madeyska, "Hondius (Hondt) Wilhelm," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 9 (1961): 605–606, and "Kilka dat z życia Hondiusza," *Rocznik Gdański* 13 (1954): 133–38.

time to the West Indies. Little is known about Beauplan's tour of duty overseas, where he once again served in a military capacity for some part of the 1650s. One accomplishment is known, however; he is credited with drafting a plan of the port city of Cartagena (located in present-day Colombia).[3]

Some time after his return to France, Beauplan was given an appointment in the royal army as military engineer. He began to serve under the command of a rising genius in the arts of fortification, trench warfare, and siege named Sébastien Le Prestre, sieur de Vauban. By 1665 Beauplan was already an *ingénieur ordinaire* of Louis XIV, specializing in cartography. He received substantial sums of money from Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *contrôleur général des Finances*, for preparing maps of Normandy and Brittany.[4]

The father of several children, Beauplan married twice: his first wife was Marie Doquet; his second, Elisabeth Boivin. He died in 1673.

Beauplan described his experiences in the Ukraine, or the southeastern palatinates of the Commonwealth, in his book *Description des contrées du royaume de Pologne* (Rouen, 1651). Only about one hundred copies were printed, but the volume proved popular enough to warrant a second, larger edition, with an expanded text and a new title: *Description d'Ukranie* (Rouen, 1660; reissues Rouen-Paris, 1661, and Rouen, 1673).[5] The text of the 1651 edition appeared in various languages in Blaeu's atlases published in the 1660s.[6] Beauplan is also the author of the short reference book *Table des déclinaisons du soleil* (Rouen, 1662), and another work which, as far as can be determined, was never published.[7] Some authorities also attribute to Beauplan the following titles: *Traité de la sphère et de ses parties* (Rouen, 1631; Rouen, 1651); *L'Usage de*

[3] This plan of the port and its environs is held in the Bibliothèque nationale (Paris). A manuscript, measuring 45 x 67 cm., it bears the date 1650, but in a different ink than that used for the plan.

[4] *Carte générale de Normandie*, comprising twelve sheets and measuring 123 x 213 cm., printed at Rouen in 1667. *Carte générale de Bretagne*, on a parchment sheet measuring 67 x 89 cm., finished in 1666. See Hervé, "Maps of Normandy and Brittany," pp. 73–75.

[5] Apparently there is also a 1662 edition, which we have been unable to examine. See Essar and Pernal, "Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*," p. 488, fn. 5.

[6] Essar and Pernal, "Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*," pp. 489–92.

[7] See Beauplan's remarks, "Au Lecteur," in *Table des déclinaisons*, p. [iii].

la sphère plate universelle (Rouen, 1631; Rouen, 1651; Le Havre, 1673); and *Les Principes de la géomètrie militaire* (Rouen, 1662).[8]

As a military engineer, Beauplan erected new fortresses and fortifications, improved existing ones, and rebuilt those that had been damaged or destroyed. The following are his main accomplishments in this field from 1631 to 1646: Palatinate of Podolia—structures at Bar, Kam''ianets, and Novohrod (Verkhiv); Palatinate of Ruthenia—at Brody and Pidhirtsi; Palatinate of Kiev—at Kremenchuk and a campsite on the Starets; Palatinate of Bratslav—at Novyi Konets'pol (Savran); and Zaporozhe—at Kodak. He also contributed to the settlement of the vast, sparsely-populated steppes of the Ukraine: "I laid out foundations," he relates, "for more than fifty *słobody*, very much like so many colonies, which in a space of but a few years have grown to more than a thousand villages by the expansion of the new settlement."[9]

The cartographic endeavors of Beauplan must be regarded as among the leading contributions to this field in the second half of the seventeenth century. In particular, his work in the Ukrainian region, which he began to map soon after his arrival, is of immense importance. That can best be appreciated through an examination of the four separate groups of his maps of that area.

A. The "General" Maps of the Ukraine (1639–1673)

1. TABULA GEOGRAPHICA UKRAINSKA: first edition; manuscript; scale 1:1,550,000; prepared ca. 1639; south-oriented; measuring 44.5 x 62.5 cm. This is the fourteenth map contained in a manuscript atlas of Friedrich Getkant, located in Kungliga Krigsarkhivet, Stockholm. It is entitled TOPOGRAPHICA PRACTICA . . . CONSCRIPTA ET RECOGNITA PER FRIDERICUM GETKANT MECHANICUM. ANNO 1638. The title page had been prepared before all the maps had been drawn and assembled, as can be seen by the plan of Malbork dated 1639. Although the map of the Ukraine is unsigned, various authorities agree that it is the work of Beauplan, copied by Getkant and included in his atlas. Beauplan took part in an expedition by boat on the Dnieper in 1639, and thus had the opportunity to map the course of the river and its environs

[8] Stylistic evidence and the initial publication date of the first two texts lead us to believe that they are not the work of Beauplan. We have been unable to examine the third.

[9] Beauplan's dedication to King Jan Kazimierz in *Description d'Ukranie* (Rouen, 1660), p. [iv].

at that time. The earliest date that can be assigned for the completion of the map, then, is 1639.

2. Delineatio Generalis CAMPORUM DESERTORUM vulgo UKRAINA. Cum adjacentibus Provinciis. Bono publico erecta per Guilhelmum le Vasseur de Beauplan. S. R. Mtis. Architectum militarem et Capitaneum: second edition; first variant; printed; scale 1:1,800,000; engraved and printed in 1648 in Gdańsk by Willem Hondius; south-oriented; measuring 42 x 54.5 cm. Under "Severiae Ducatus" there is an inscription in French, while below the legend there is another in Latin.

3. Delineatio Generalis CAMPORUM DESERTORUM vulgo UKRAINA. Cum adjacentibus Provinciis. Bono publico erecta per Guilhelmum le Vasseur de Beauplan. S. R. Mtis. Architectum militarem et Capitaneum: second edition; second variant; other characteristics as for map 2, above. In 1651 or later, part of the west side was redrawn and corrected; an inset with additional towns is included. There are inscriptions in Latin on the side of Lojewogrod and below Berestetzko.

4. Carte d'Vkranie Contenant plusieurs Prouinces comprises entre les Confins de Moscouie et les Limittes de Transiluanie Dressez par G.L.V. sieur de Beauplan Ingenieur et Capitaine de l'Artillerie du serenissime Roy de Pologne: third edition; first variant; scale 1:1,800,000; engraved and printed in 1660 in Rouen by Jacques Cailloué; south-oriented; measuring 42 x 54.5 cm. This map is included in every copy of *Description d'Ukranie* (1660). The engraving is of a poorer quality than that of Hondius. Certain place-names have been omitted in the south; however, an inset has been glued on to complete the Crimean peninsula.

5. Carte d'Vkranie Contenant plusieurs Prouinces comprises entre les Confins de Moscouie et les Limittes de Transiluanie Dressez par G.L.V. sieur de Beauplan Ingenieur et Capitaine de l'Artillerie du serenissime Roy de Pologne: third edition; second variant; printed in 1661; other details as for map 4, above. This map is included in every copy of *Description d'Ukranie* (1661). It has been printed from the same plate as map 4; however, additional place-names have been added along the shores of the Black Sea. If a 1662 edition of *Description d'Ukranie* does in fact exist, it may well contain the same map.

6. Carte d'Vkranie Contenant plusieurs Prouinces comprises entre les Confins de Moscouie et les Limittes de Transiluanie Dressez par G.L.V. sieur de Beauplan Ingenieur et Capitaine de l'Artillerie du serenissime Roy de Pologne: third edition; third variant; printed in

1673; other details as for map 5, above. This map is included in *Description d'Ukranie* (1673). It contains the inscription "Ce Vendent a Paris chez Iollain St. Jaque a la ville de Cologne." This map was printed from the same plate as map 5, and differs from it only by the absence of the inset of Crimea and the inclusion of the above inscription.[10]

B. The "Special" Maps of the Ukraine (1650–1651)

Beauplan had begun to compile additional topographic materials for the special map of the Ukraine, but was slow to bring his work into publishable condition. He explained his tardiness as follows: "The great tasks that occupied me during the war in these lands [i.e., the Ukraine] left me little leisure, and obliged me to devote at least eight years to bringing this work to perfection, since I was able to work at it only occasionally."[11] Early in 1645 he finished the first draft of the map, and on 10 March 1645 he received a privilege from King Władysław to publish it.[12] For reasons that are not evident (Beauplan himself having remained silent on the matter), the general map was printed before the special.

The privilege clearly refers to the special map, since it contains the statement "tabula geographica ditionum regni nostri a regno Hungaria usque ad fines Moschoviae sitarum."[13] Yet, curiously, its publication was delayed until some time after the general map had appeared. The reason for this apparent anomaly can be found by examining the ambitious plans of Władysław IV. The king had endeavored to send a seventeenth-century crusade against the Turks. When this undertaking was frustrated by the Diet of 1646, he set into motion another plan, under the guise of defensive action against the Tatars.[14] Since familiarity with the terrain, fortifications, bodies of water and rivers in the lower regions of the Dnieper, the Crimea, and the northwestern shores of the Black Sea was a prerequisite for any successful military undertaking against

[10] For additional details see Pernal and Essar, "The 1673 Variant," pp. 92–98.

[11] Beauplan's "Notice to Readers," in *Description d'Ukranie* (Rouen, 1660), p. [vii]. Translations from the French are our own.

[12] Privilege, Warsaw, 10 March 1645: Teodor Wierzbowski, ed., *Materiały do dziejów Piśmiennictwa Polskiego i Biografii Pisarzów Polskich*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1904), pp. 73–74 (hereafter "Privilege").

[13] "Privilege," p. 73.

[14] Wiktor Czermak, *Plany wojny tureckiej Władysława IV* (Cracow, 1895); Bohdan Baranowski, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie w latach 1632–1648* (Łódź, 1949); and Ludwik Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1924), pp. 173–265.

the Muslim world, a map containing such information—such as Beauplan's general map—was much more important than one which did not—such as the special one. Therefore, Beauplan must have been instructed to complete the general map as quickly as possible. He accomplished this task, as we have seen, retaining the one-sheet format and the original south orientation, both of which made the map very practical for military purposes. Hondius engraved the map and published it in 1648. In that year the war plans came to naught, due to the death of Władysław and the Cossack uprising in the Ukraine. Thus, in 1650, the special map of the Ukraine, comprising eight sheets, was finally readied for publication. This map has three variants.[15]

1. DELINEATIO SPECIALIS ET ACCURATA UKRAINAE. CUM SUIS PALATINATIBUS, AC DISTRICTIB., PROVINCYSQ. ADIACENTIBUS BONO PUBLICO ERECTA PER GUILHELMUM LE VASSEUR DE BEAUPLAN S.R. MTIS POLONIAE ET SUECIAE ARCHITECTUM MILITAREM ET CAPITANEUM AERI VERO INCISA OPERA ET STUDIO WILHELMI HONDY S.R. MTIS POLONIAE ET SUECIAE CHALCOGRAPHI PRIVILEGATI. GEDANI ANNO DOMINI M.C.D.L. [*sic*]: first edition; first variant; scale 1:1,450,000; comprising eight sheets, each 41.5 x 45 cm. (dimensions of full map 216 x 83 cm.); title prepared separately, composed of 4 strips; engraved and printed in 1650 in Gdańsk by Willem Hondius; south-oriented. Inscriptions at the bottom of sheet 7: "Guilhelmus le Vasseur de Beauplan S.R. Mtis. Architectus Militaris et Capitaneus mensuravit et delineavit. Wilhelmus Hondius S.R. Mtis Chalcographus sculpsit Cum privilegio S.R. Mtis. in trigenta Annos. Gedani Ano. M.D.C.L."

2. DELINEATIO SPECIALIS ET ACCURATA UKRAINAE. CUM SUIS PALATINATIBUS, AC DISTRICTIB., PROVINCYSQ. ADIACENTIBUS BONO PUBLICO ERECTA PER GUILHELMUM LE VASSEUR DE BEAUPLAN S.R. MTIS POLONIAE ET SUECIAE ARCHITECTUM MILITAREM ET CAPITANEUM AERI VERO INCISA OPERA ET STUDIO WILHELMI HONDY S.R. MTIS POLONIAE ET SUECIAE CHALCOGRAPHI PRIVILEGATI. GEDANI ANNO DOMINI M.C.D.L. [*sic*]: first edition; second variant; other details as for map 1, above. The individual sheets were revised either in late 1650 or early in 1651. The most notable addition is the inset of the lower Dnieper River on sheet 1.

15 Dzikowski, "Zbiór kartograficzny," pp. 316–21; and Jacyk, "Analiza mapy," pp. 70–89.

3. DELINEATIO SPECIALIS ET ACCURATA UKRAINAE. CUM SUIS PALATINATIBUS, AC DISTRICTIB., PROVINCYSQ. ADIACENTIBUS BONO PUBLICO ERECTA PER GUILHELMUM LE VASSEUR DE BEAUPLAN S.R. MTIS POLONIAE ET SUECIAE ARCHITECTUM MILITAREM ET CAPITANEUM AERI VERO INCISA OPERA ET STUDIO WILHELMI HONDY S.R. MTIS POLONIAE ET SUECIAE CHALCOGRAPHI PRIVILEGATI. GEDANI ANNO DOMINI M.C.D.L. [*sic*]: first edition, third variant; other details as for map 2, above. Sheet 8 contains the following inscription: "Circa Berestetzium ubi haec nota + reperitur IOANNES CASIMIRUS REX POL. cecidit et fugam vertit 300000 Tartaros et rebelles Cosacos Ano. 1651 die 30 Junij."[16]

C. The Maps of the Dnieper River (1662)

These maps comprise three sheets: the first two measure 55 x 42.5 cm., and the third, 54 x 45 cm. The scale of the first two is 1:232,000; of the third, 1:463,000. Each sheet, divided into two sections, bears a different title.

Sheet 1: TRACTUS BORYSTHENIS Vulgo DNIEPR et NIEPR dicti, a KIOVIA usque ad BOUZIN.

Sheet 2: TRACTUS BORYSTHENIS Vulgo DNIEPR et NIEPR dicti, a BOUZIN usque ad CHORTYCA OSTROW.

Sheet 3: TRACTUS BORYSTHENIS Vulgo DNIEPR et NIEPR dicti, a CHORTIKA OSTRO ad urbem Oczakow ubi in PONTUM EUXINUM se exonerat.

Sheets 1–3 were first published in volume 2 of Joan Blaeu's Latin ATLAS MAIOR, SIVE COSMOGRAPHIA BLAVIANA, QUA SOLUM, SALUM, COELUM, ACCURATISSIME DESCRIBUNTUR (Amsterdam, 1662). They were republished between 1663 and 1672 in Latin, with texts in Spanish, French, and Dutch.[17] The bottom left corner of sheet 1, section 2, bears the inscription "Amstelaedami, Excud. I. BLAEU." Although Beauplan's name does not appear on these maps, authorities agree that he must be considered their author. For example, Buczek states: "Though the author's name is nowhere stated on these maps, there can be no

[16] We do not agree with the conclusion of Teresa Paćko and Wojciech Trzebiński that there existed another variant of this map, comprising sheets 1, 2, 5, and 6, and bearing the same title as that prepared for sheets 1–8. See *Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce* [no. 5: *Wielkoarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich, 1576–1870*, pt. 1: *Tekst*] (Wrocław, 1983), p. 5, item 7.

[17] Essar and Pernal, "Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*," pp. 489–92.

doubt whatever that they were the work of Beauplan, who prepared them for print very carefully so that the spelling of place names was here better than on the special map of the Ukraine and on the inset showing the lower Dniepr added to the more complete version of the special map."[18]

D. The Regional Maps of the Ukraine and Other Lands (1652)

Background

On 19 June 1652, King Jan Kazimierz of Poland (1648–1668) commanded the Gdańsk city council to sequester the possessions at the workshop of the recently-deceased engraver Willem Hondius. Claiming that "our affairs and certain causes" required him to take such a step, and emphasizing that special attention should be paid to Hondius's "*Theatrum Poloniae* and the *secreta*[19] belonging to it," the king instructed the council to prepare for him an inventory of the late engraver's belongings and to keep them, until further orders, under seal.[20]

After receiving the inventory from Gdańsk and familiarizing himself with it, Jan Kazimierz concluded that the unfinished labors of Hondius should be completed. Moreover, the king must have become convinced that it would be possible, by making certain additions, to publish an atlas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On 16 April 1654, he commissioned the Gdańsk bookseller and publisher Georg Förster[21] and the historian-publicist

[18] Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, p. 65, fn. 223.

[19] Jan Kazimierz must have suspected that among the possessions of Hondius—"Schriften, Sachen, Landtafeln"—there were documents that should be kept secret. Beauplan, who prepared the maps which were engraved by Hondius, was partially responsible for the king's thinking. In the preface to his book, which he had dedicated to Jan Kazimierz, Beauplan made the following comment: "I would say much more on this subject, were it not that I see that it is wiser to remain silent than to speak out, for fear that in presuming to offer you helpful advice, I might supply to your enemies instruction that would be as useful to them as it would be injurious to you." See *Description des contrées du royaume de Pologne* (Rouen, 1651), p. [vi].

[20] Jan Kazimierz to the Gdańsk city council, Warsaw, 19 June 1652: Fabiani-Madeyska, "Kilka dat," p. 137.

[21] On the publishing and book-selling activities of Förster, see I. Heitjan, "Kaspar und Georg Förster, Buchhändler und Verleger zu Danzig im 17. Jahrhundert. Ihre Geschäftsverbindung mit Antwerpen und Bibliografie ihrer Verlagswerke," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 15 (1975):389–428; A. Jędrzejowska and M. Pelczarowa, "Polskie piśmiennictwo w gdańskich oficynach drukarskich (XVI–XVIII w.)," in *Szkice z dziejów Pomorza*, ed. G. Labuda and S. Hoszowski, vol. 2 (Warsaw,

Joachim Pastorius[22] to complete the engraving of the plates, to print the maps, to prepare the necessary illustrations, and to provide the descriptions of the particular "provinces and domains of our Kingdom."[23] Prior to the date of the commission he must have negotiated with Hondius's widow and reached some sort of settlement, since, on 16 May 1654, the 1652 sequestration order was lifted at his command.[24]

The work of Förster and Pastorius was interrupted by the Swedish invasion of the Commonwealth in 1655. It was only after the Peace of Oliwa (1660) ended the Northern War[25] that a climate favorable for the continuation of their project returned. However, by that time two important events had occurred, both of which further postponed the undertaking: the deaths of Förster and of Hondius's widow. With the demise of the latter, the late engraver's property passed into the hands of a goldsmith named Poleman. According to the diary of the Gdańsk city councillor Georg Schröder, Poleman's inheritance consisted of "20 maps from the *Atlante Polonicus*, which a Frenchman named Beauplan had begun to design," plates of a plan of the siege of Smolensk,[26] a

1959), pp. 123–35; and Z. Nowak, "Zarys dziejów dawnego księgarstwa w Gdańsku (XV–XVIII w.)," *Księgarz* 21 (1977): 25–30.

22 On the scholarly activities of Pastorius, see A. Birch-Hirschfeld, "Autobiografia Joachima Pastoriusa," *Reformacja w Polsce* 9–10 (1937–39): 470–77; K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius, gdański pedagog XVII w.* (Gdańsk, 1970); and idem, "Życie naukowe w Gdańsku w XVII i XVIII wieku," *Gdańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne* 4 (1963): 44–49; and Lech Mokrzecki, "Pastorius ab Hirtenberg (Hirten, Hirtemius, Hirthemius) Joachim," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 25 (1980): 261–65.

23 Privilege of Jan Kazimierz to Förster and Pastorius, Warsaw, 16 May 1654: Fr. Giedroyć, ed., *Źródła biograficzno-bibliograficzne do dziejów medycyny w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1911), p. 588.

24 Jan Kazimierz to the Gdańsk city council, 16 April 1654: Fabiani-Madeyska, "Kilka dat," p. 138.

25 On the Northern War, see *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej 1655–1660*, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy et al., 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1957).

26 The plan, depicting the siege of Smolensk and its lifting (1632–34), was drafted by J. Pleitner in 1634 and engraved by W. Hondius in 1636. Comprising 16 sheets (12 large and 4 small) and measuring 218 x 154.7 cm., it is entitled: SMOLENSCIUM VRBS. OPE DIVINA VLADISLAI IV. POL. SVECIÆQUE REGIS INVICTISSIMI PRINCIPIS. VIRTUTE LIBERATUM. OBSESSI OBSESSORES MOSCOVITÆ ET AUXILIARII. VICTI ARMIS HOSTES FORTITUDINE. VITA DONATI CLEMENTIA INUSITATA. ANN. M.IↃC.XXXIV.

map of the Ukraine,[27] and some other materials,[28] most likely illustrations.[29]

Through the early 1660s the work of Hondius remained unfinished. The lack of activity was perhaps due to Jan Kazimierz's preoccupation with the pressing internal and external affairs of the Commonwealth, and to his failure to provide a subsidy for the publication of the planned atlas. For whatever reason, it is clear that Poleman was obliged to act on his own. Surely he approached the Gdańsk publishers about this matter; however, they must have been either unwilling or unable to pay the price he demanded for the plates, or to guarantee him a satisfactory percentage of profits from the sale of the atlas. Eventually the goldsmith decided to try his luck in the competitive but lucrative Dutch cartographic market. The time was ripe to make good gains, for Beauplan's *Description d'Ukranie*, published in 1660 and reissued in 1661,[30] had been very well received by readers in Western Europe. This being the case, Poleman resolved to turn either to Pastorius or to "abbot" Lipski[31]

[27] It is unclear whether this was the "general" or the "special" map of the Ukraine.

[28] The pertinent statement is not clear: ". . . und auch [Karten—here meaning drawings] von der Tarantula, welche der Örter gefunden über die Stadt Kyow mit ihren Cryptis, in welchen die alten Christen ihren Aufenthalt gehabt." Karol Buczek suggests the following interpretation: "Perhaps when mentioning 'Tarantula' and 'Cryptis' Schröder was referring to Daniel Zwicker's map [of Polissia, which was engraved by Hondius in 1650] . . . on which were inscribed notes about the dye plant *Porphyrophora polonica L.* and about the Christians' Cave near Kijów [Kiev]. But he could be referring to some drawings and descriptions by Zwicker." See *History*, trans. Potocki, p. 68, fn. 237.

Of course, the reference could also be to illustrations by Beauplan. On the 1648 general map of the Ukraine Hondius mentioned that he had received some sort of "instructions" from Beauplan, including drawings of the "rarities found in these regions." Moreover, Beauplan was fascinated by the caves of Kiev. In his *Description* (Rouen, 1651), p. 11, he writes: "At the foot of the mountain close to this monastery [i.e., the *Pechers'ka lavra*] there are a large number of caves, similar to mines, filled with very many [human] bodies, resembling Egyptian mummies, preserved there for more than 1,500 [*sic*] years. It is believed that the first Christian hermits hewed out these underground quarters, in order to be able to serve God in secret in these places, living peacefully in these caverns during the time of pagan persecution."

[29] Diary of Georg Schröder, Gdańsk, 1668: Fabiani-Madeyska, "Kilka dat," p. 138.

[30] See fn. 5 above.

[31] This is undoubtedly a reference to Stanisław Lipski, regent of the royal chancery and canon of Cracow. See Karolina Targosz, *Uczony dwór Ludwiki Marii Gonzagi (1646–1667): Z dziejów polsko-francuskich stosunków naukowych* (Wrocław, 1975), p. 156.

for the preparation of the necessary descriptions of the particular regions of the Commonwealth. By 1668, however, for reasons that are not clear, the commissioned descriptions had still not been completed.[32]

More light on this whole matter is shed by Pierre Des Noyers, former secretary and treasurer of Queen Ludwika Maria. In one of his letters, written from Gdańsk, he reported the following:

I have learned the whereabouts of the plates of the maps of Poland[33] by Le Vasseur de Beauplan. They are in the possession of a man of this city named Poleman, who is hiding them and who is very hesitant to show them. The ones of the salt mines[34] are there as well, and there are in all 19 or 20 plates, for which this man is asking [the price of] one thousand rix-dollars, [a price] which made me laugh with scorn. The [copperplate] prints [of these maps] are only of the size of the square [*sic*] I am marking for you here,[35] but they appear to me to be very exact.[36]

In another letter from Warsaw, Des Noyers described the "general" map of the Commonwealth in detail. There can be no doubt that he had examined and was referring to the map entitled *Nova totius Regni Poloniae.* He also mentioned that the "other [maps] are of particular regions, and of the twenty [copperplate] prints, there are four [plans] of the salt mines.; Finally, Des Noyers added that "a goldsmith named Poleman has these [maps and plans], but he does not want to give up a single printed copy of them, because he says they would be counterfeited, and he would no longer be able to sell them."[37]

Des Noyers returned to this topic some fifteen years later. He then informed his correspondent that

[32] Diary of Georg Schröder, Gdańsk, 1668: Fabiani-Madeyska, "Kilka dat," p. 138.

[33] By "Poland" Des Noyers meant the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, not the Kingdom of Poland.

[34] These plans have four parts: three represent the salt mines; and one, the town of Wieliczka. They were prepared for Adam Kazanowski, court marshal of Władysław IV, having been drafted by M. German in 1638 and engraved by Hondius in 1645.

[35] Des Noyers marked a rectangle measuring 15 x 18.5 cm. over the text of his letter.

[36] Pierre Des Noyers to Ismaël Boulliau, Gdańsk, 19 September 1671: Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris), MS Correspondance politique, Pologne, 1670–1673, fol. 192v.

[37] Pierre Des Noyers to Ismaël Boulliau, Warsaw, 30 October 1671: ibid., fol. 200.

Le Vasseur [de Beauplan] prepared a map of Poland in 22 [small] maps[38] the size of this sheet,[39]. . . and a very large map of the Ukraine. . . .At Gdańsk there are 22 plates of the particular maps of Poland. The person who possesses them does not want to give up the prints, and is asking [the price of] one thousand rix-dollars for these 22 plates.[40]

He also provided certain information about Beauplan, saying that he had been "a captain in Poland . . . during the time of [King] Władysław [IV],"[41] and that, "not seeing himself treated according to his merit in that country, [he] went to the [West] Indies, where he died."[42]

These sources yield the following information: (1) the terms *Theatrum Poloniae* and *Atlante Polonicus* were used by contemporaries to indicate, for the sake of convenience, a collection of plates and prints of plans and maps; (2) of the materials in this collection, four were the plans of the Wieliczka salt mines, one was the plan of the fortifications of Zbarazh,[43] one was the map of the entire Commonwealth, and the rest were maps of the various regional and administrative divisions of the Commonwealth, including her fiefs and dependencies; (3) the engraving of the plates was undertaken by Willem Hondius, who, since he died in mid-1652, was unable to finish many of them. Except for the plans of Wieliczka and Zbarazh, Beauplan drafted all the maps.

38 "Le Vasseur a fait la Pologne en 22 cartes." This statement must be interpreted as follows: Beauplan prepared 22 maps which covered the entire area of the Commonwealth; however, they were in various scales. Thus, it would not be possible to join them to make one large map of the country. For this reason it is difficult to accept the claim of Fabiani-Madeyska that Hondius was working "on a large map of Poland," which had been drafted by Beauplan. See her "Kilka dat," p. 135.

39 His letter page measures 17.5 x 22.5 cm.

40 Pierre Des Noyers to Ismaël Boulliau, Warsaw, 10 January 1687: Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), Fonds français MS 13022, fol. 236v.

41 Pierre Des Noyers to Ismaël Boulliau, Warsaw, 22 November 1686: ibid., fol. 226r.

42 Pierre Des Noyers to Ismaël Boulliau, Warsaw, 10 January 1687: ibid., fol. 236v. The information about Beauplan's death in the West Indies is incorrect. He died in France in 1673.

43 The plan of the fortifications of Zbarazh during the 1649 siege by the Cossacks and Tatars, together with the other eleven copperplate prints (see below), is held in Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk). Des Noyers did not mention it.

The 1652 Maps

Two Polish cartographic collections, of the Biblioteka Czartoryskich (Cracow) and of the Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk), contain twelve small copperplate map prints of the so-called *Theatrum Poloniae* or *Atlante Polonicus*, most of which are unfinished. The completed maps bear the date 1652. It is clear that these maps were designed to be included in Beauplan's *Description*. In this book, we are told, he wanted "to add a map of the whole of Poland, and illustrations both of the people and wild animals, as well as of plants and other interesting rarities seen in that country."[44] Each map is drawn book-size, measuring approximately 15 x 19 cm. The scale of the map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is approximately 1 : 1,800,000. Additional characteristics of the maps are outlined below.

The following system of data is used in describing each map: (a) title, (b) area covered, (c) inscriptions pertaining to the draftsman and the engraver, (d) present location of prints, (e) reproductions, and (f) additional information.

1. (a) Nova totius / REGNI POLONIÆ / Magniq. Ducatus / LITHUANIÆ / cum suis / PALATINATIBUS / ac Confiniis / exacta Delineatio / per G. le Vasseur de Beauplan / S. R. M^{tis} Architectum militarm̄ / et Capitaneum.
(b) This map portrays the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and large portions of the neighboring countries. The name "UKRAINA" is marked within the boundaries of the Palatinate of Kiev.
(c) G^{s}. Hondi^{s}, S. R. M. Chalcographus / sculp^{t}. Cum privil^{o}. S. R. M^{s}. in tri- / genta Annos. Gedani MDCLII.
(d) Biblioteka Czartoryskich (Cracow).
(e) Buczek, "Ze studiów," after p. 32; Buczek, *Dzieje kartografii*, pl. xxx; and Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, fig. 37.
(f) Completed.

2. (a) No title. The frame, prepared for it, contains the following hand-written note, in ink: Volhynia / Utraque.
(b) This map shows almost the entire southern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the north all of the Prypiat River is included; in the south, the whole Crimean Peninsula; in the west,

[44] These are remarks made by the publisher, Jacques Cailloué, in *Description d'Ukranie* (Rouen, 1660), p. [viii].

the middle course of the Vistula River; in the east, almost all of the Sea of Azov.
(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) A reproduction of this map appears on p. 79.
(f) This map is almost finished.

3. (a) No title.
(b) This map covers largely the southeastern area of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the north, it reaches the point where the Desna River joins the Dnieper; in the south, it shows the entire Crimean Peninsula and a large part of the Black Sea (to approximately 44°N); in the west, it covers the territory from the source of the Dniester River; and in the east, it includes almost all of the Sea of Azov.
(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) A reproduction of this map appears on p. 80.
(f) This is the most incomplete of all the twelve 1652 maps. It shows, without giving any names, the main rivers of the region (the Dnieper, Dniester, and Boh) and their tributaries. Place-names, too, are not marked.

4. (a) No title.
(b) This map includes the area of the entire Palatinate of Bratslav, and shows a small portion of the Palatinate of Podolia in the west and a large part of the Palatinate of Kiev in the east.
(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) A reproduction of this map appears on p. 81.
(f) This map is almost finished.

5. (a) No title.
(b) This map covers the area of the Palatinate of Kiev. It also shows, in the west, large portions of the Palatinates of Bratslav and Volhynia; and in the north, almost all of Chernihiv.
(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) A reproduction of this map appears on p. 82.
(f) This map is about half-finished. Most place-names appear on the left bank of the Dnieper River.

6. (a) Palatinatus / PODOLIENSIS.
(b) This map comprises the entire area of the Palatinate of Podolia, the bordering portions of the Palatinates of Ruthenia (west), Bratslav (east), and Volhynia (north), and a northern fragment of Moldavia.

(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) A reproduction of this map appears on p. 83.
(f) This map is almost finished; however, very few place-names are marked on it.

7. (a) No title.
(b) This map shows the southeastern region of the Palatinate of Ruthenia, or Pokutia, marked "Pokutie" on the map.
(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) A reproduction of this map appears on p. 84.
(f) The greater part of this map is completed.

8. (a) BORYSTHENIS FLUVIJ PARS / à Fortalitio KUDAK usq. ad / Insul. Chortÿca cum suis / XIII. Cataractis scopulosis / vulgo Porohÿ (latine Limina) dictis.
(b) This map shows the course of the Dnieper River from its tributary Samara, in the north, to the Khortsytsia Island, in the south. The various tributaries and thirteen cataracts of the Dnieper, as well as other physical features, are clearly marked.
(c) [G.] le Vasseur de Beauplan S. R. M^S^. Architect. Milit. et Capit. delin. / [G.] Hond^S^. Chal. sculp. cum privil. Gedani An^O^. CIↃIↃCLII. [MDCLII]
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) Herbst, "Prace," p. [124].
(f) The upper right-hand quarter of the map, which contains a plan of Kodak, has the following title: Delineatio / Fortalitÿ / KUDAK ad pri / mam Cataractam / seu Limen Bory / sth: extructum / per VLADISL / AUM IV. REG. / POL / INVICTISS. / AN^O^. / 1635. The whole map is oriented to the southwest.

9. (a) BORYSTHENIS FLUVII / PARS ULTRALIMINARIS / vulgo ZAPOROZE (unde COSSACCI / ZAPOROHSCy dicuntur) / ab Insula Chortÿca usq. ad / PONTIUM EUXINUM.
(b) This map shows the lower course of the Dnieper River, from approximately the ninth cataract in the north, to its mouth at the Black Sea in the south.
(c) G. le Vasseur de Beauplan S. R. M^S^. Architect. militar̃. et Capitañ. delineavit. / G. Hondius S. R. M^S^. Chalcographus sculp^S^. Cum privil. Gedani An^O^. CIↃIↃCLII. [MDCLII]
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) Herbst, "Prace," p. [125]; and Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, fig. 34a.
(f) This map is almost finished.

10. (a) Delineatio / Provinciæ Turcicæ, / admodum desertæ, / DZIAR-CRIMENDA / dictæ.
(b) This map covers the area along the northwestern shore of the Black Sea between the rivers Dnieper (north) and Dniester (south).
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) Herbst, "Prace," p. [127]; and Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, fig. 34d.
(f) This map is almost finished.

11. (a) Delineatio / Provinciæ Turcicæ, / BUDZIAK / dictæ. / In quâ avnun variarum feri- / næq. ut et amænissimarum / silvarum magna est abundantia.
(b) This map comprises the area along the northwestern shore of the Black Sea between the mouths of the Dniester (north) and the Danube (south).
(c) None.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) Herbst, "Prace," p. [126]; and Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, fig. 34c.
(f) This map is almost finished.

12. (a) Delineatio Provinciæ / Tartarorum nunc / CRIM. / Antiquitus verò / TAURICA CHERSONESUS / dictæ.
(b) This map displays the entire Crimean Peninsula.
(c) G. le V. de Beauplan del. / G. Hond. scul. cum priv.
(d) Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Gdańsk).
(e) Herbst, "Prace," p. [128]; and Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, fig. 34b.
(f) This map lacks only the date.

The Missing Maps

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of the small 1652 Beauplan-Hondius maps and plans. The diary of Georg Shröder and the letters of Pierre Des Noyers indicate that there were a minimum of nineteen, and a maximum of twenty-two. We have decided to accept the total listed by Des Noyers in his letter of 30 October 1671, since of our four sources listed he appears to be the most reliable. Thus, according to Des Noyers, the twenty-one copperplate prints comprised seventeen maps and four plans. We believe that he mistakenly identified one plan as a map; therefore, this collection actually consisted of sixteen maps and five plans, or one map of the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, fifteen

maps of particular regions, four plans of Wieliczka and its salt mines, and one plan of Zbarazh.

Since twelve maps have been identified, only four have to be accounted for. It is our view that the missing maps portray the following provinces, fiefs, and dependencies of the Commonwealth:

13. Great Poland: Great Poland proper and Cuiavia (Palatinates of Poznań, Kalisz, Łęczyca, Sieradz, Brześć-Kujawski, and Inowrocław); Mazovia (Palatinates of Mazovia, Płock, and Rawa); Palatinate of Podlachia; Royal Prussia (Palatinate of Pomerania); and Ducal Prussia.

14. Little Poland: Palatinates of Cracow, Sandomierz, Lublin, Bełz, Ruthenia, and Volhynia; and Spisz District.

15. Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

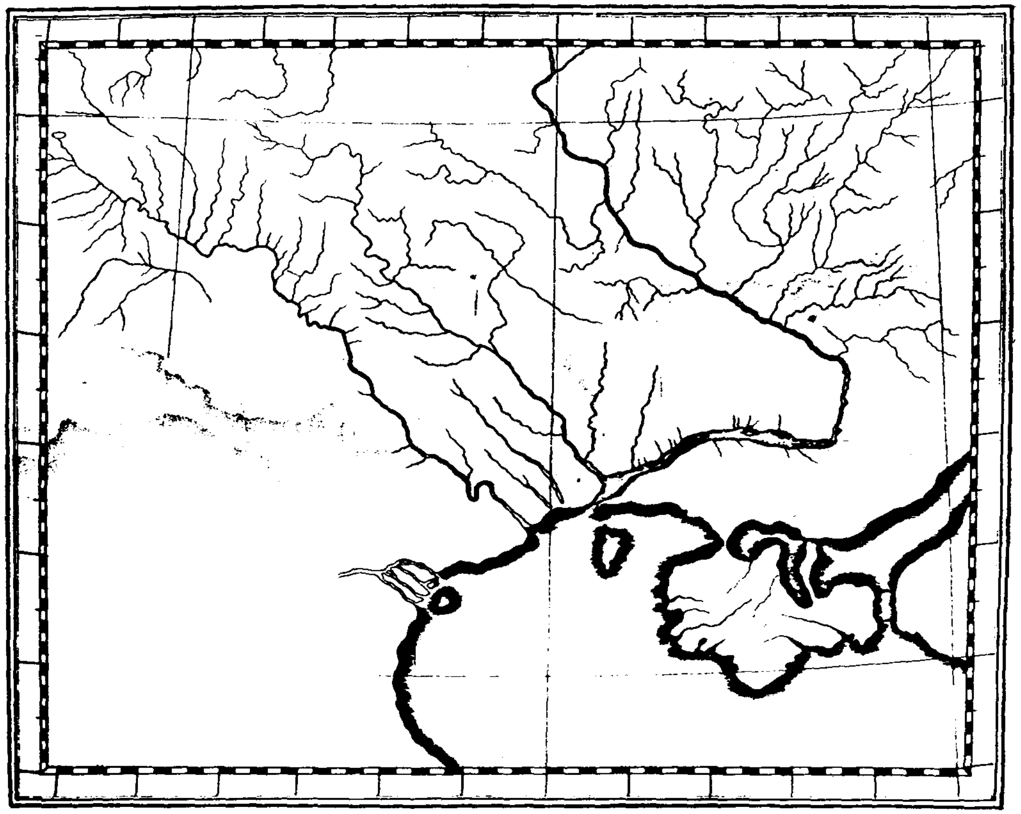
16. Kurland, Semigallia, and Livonia.[45]

Brandon University

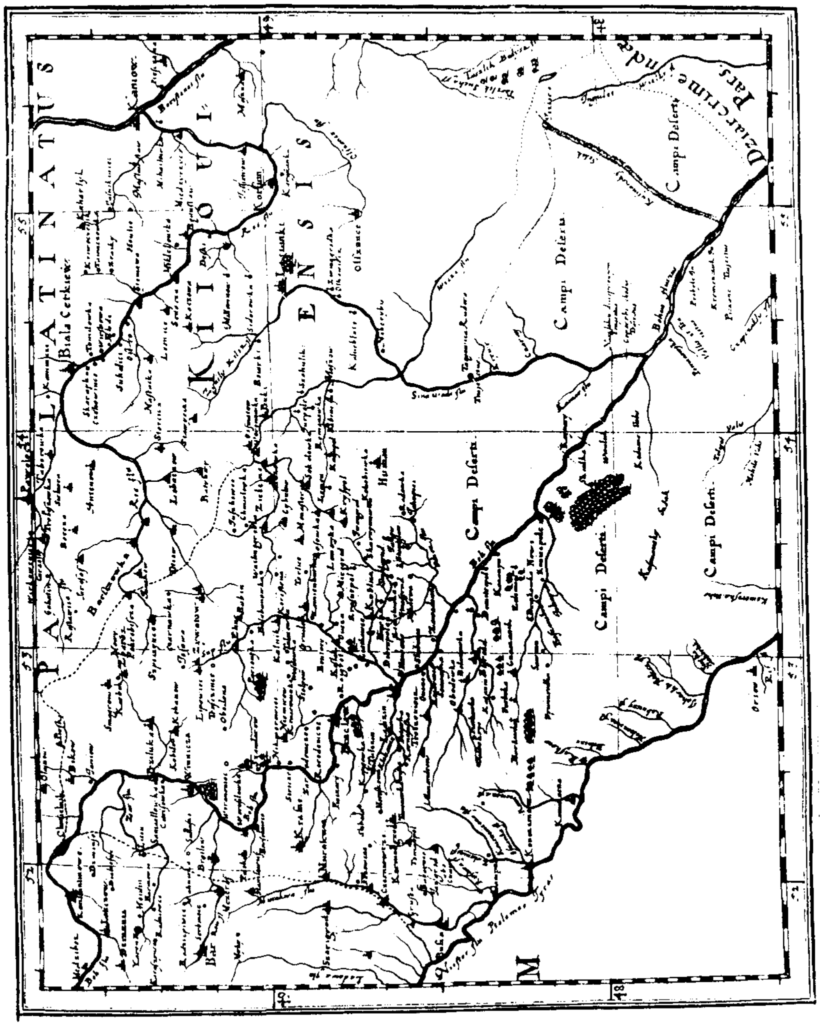
[45] Cf. Buczek, *History*, trans. Potocki, p. 72.



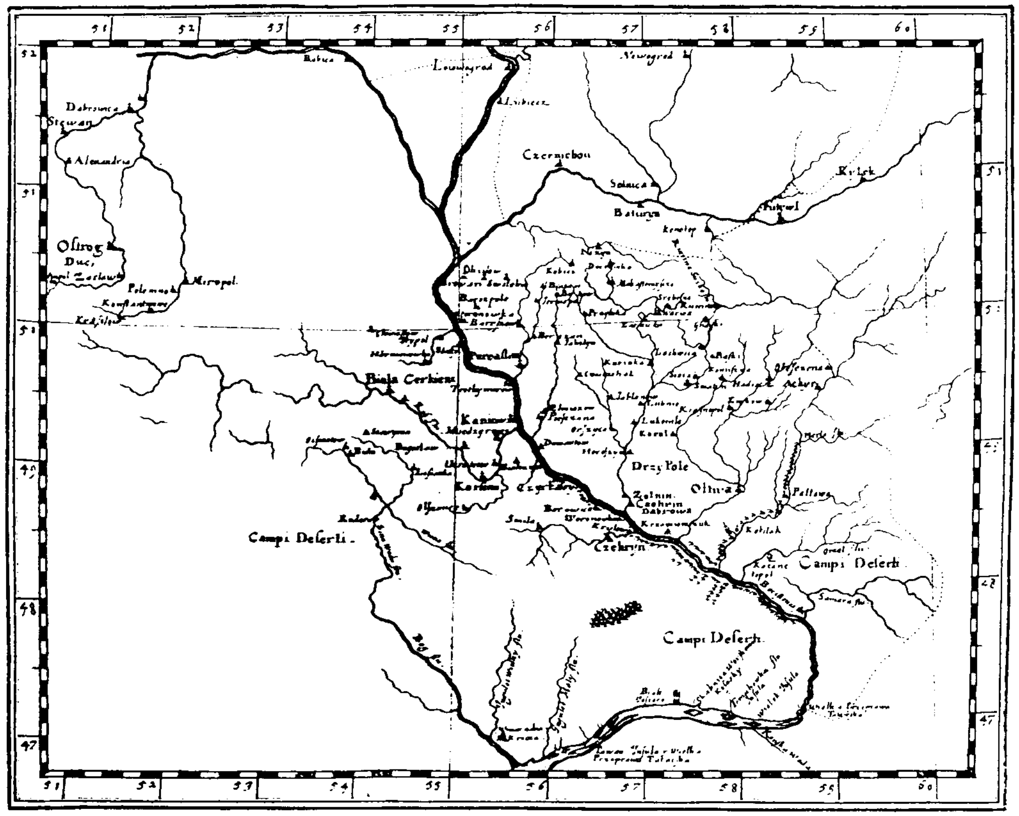
Map 2
The Ukraine and the Black Sea Area



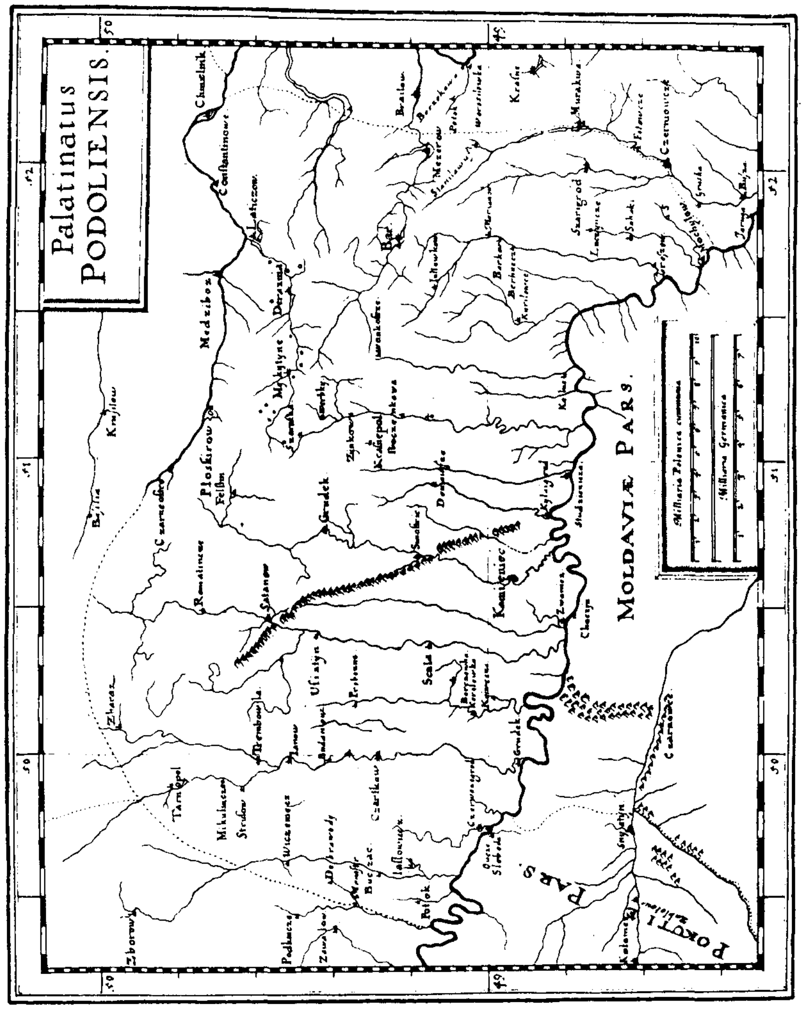
Map 3
The Ukraine and the Black Sea Area



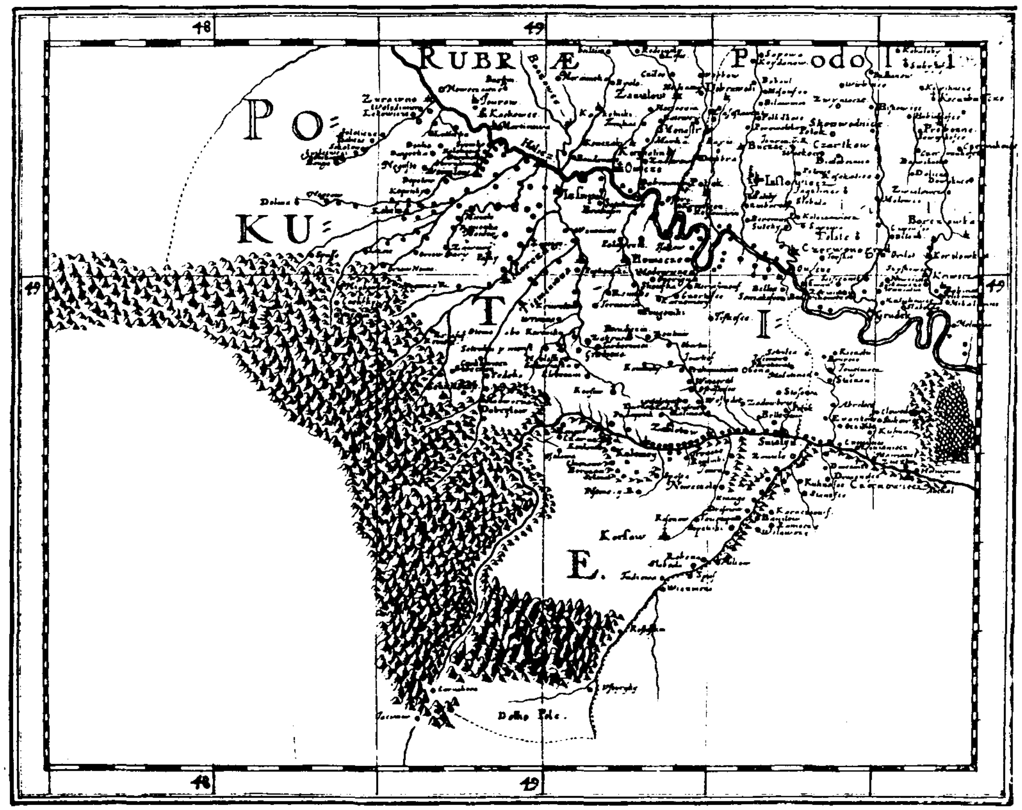
Map 4
Palatinate of Bratslav



Map 5
Palatinate of Kiev



Map 6
Palatinate of Podolia



Map 7
Palatinate of Ruthenia: Pokuttia

The Reality of the Narrator: Typological Features of Ševčenko's Prose

VLADIMIR GITIN

THE DOMINANT FEATURE OF ŠEVČENKO'S PROSE

Taras Ševčenko's prose is generally considered the weakest part of his literary legacy. This opinion, which was common even among his earliest readers (Lazarevskij, Kuliš, Aksakov), has remained substantially unchanged to the present day. Ševčenko's prose, as a rule, has been examined either against the background of his own poetry or as a part of contemporary prose. In the first case, Ševčenko's poetic genius provides an inappropriate standard of comparison for his experiments in prose. In the second, Ševčenko's tales were already hopelessly outdated by the time of their appearance, given the rapid development of contemporary prose, from which he was isolated. His prose was directed against the literature of the 1820s and 1830s. Little more can be said than to point out the range of influences on him, which can be reduced basically to Gogol', Kvitka, Marlinskij, Polevoj, and a number of second-rate authors. Later scholars of Ševčenko's prose have attempted to find a place for it in the history of literature post factum, proposing that his prose prepared the reader for "the prose of Gogol'" (cf. M. Šaginjan),[1] thus anachronistically placing it in the pre-Gogolian period.

L. Kodac'ka, who has dedicated an entire book to this theme, defends the "artistry" and the aesthetic value of this prose. Her arguments are oriented against the statement of the first Russian critic of Ševčenko's tales, A. Pypin, that these tales are, in essence, "outlines of personal recollections."[2] For Pypin such a definition excluded the possibility of judging Ševčenko's prose by aesthetic

[1] "Xoča za časom Ševčenkova proza stvorena pizniše vid Hoholja, ale stylistyčno vona nače včyt' nas rozumity Hoholja, pidvodyt' do njogo, pereduje jomu." M. Šaginjan, *Taras Ševčenko* (Kiev, 1970), p. 79.

[2] A. Pypin, "Russkie sočinenija Ševčenka," *Vestnik Evropy* (St. Petersburg), 2, bk. 3 (1888): 273.

standards, since it is oriented not toward artistic tasks but toward generalizing phenomena witnessed by the author. Kodac'ka's arguments do not cross the boundaries of traditional examinations of Ševčenko's tales in the context of previous and even contemporary literature, examinations which are basically on the level of thematic echoing. Her book is much more interesting when she attempts to define the generic character of the tales, formulating her conclusion about the nature of Ševčenko's prose as follows:

> . . . it is difficult to place the prose of Ševčenko under any established classification of genre. Difficult because it combines in itself generic indications of tales and memoirs, of journal notes and of diary notes. In almost every prose creation of the poet can be seen as a matter of fact traces of several genres: memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, correspondence—which have potential to be used in fictional works as well as in historical-documentary prose.[3]

This conclusion is correct but not definitive. Kodac'ka's point of departure is to consider the prose of Ševčenko as intentionally fictional. But this assumption should have led her to recognize that an artistic text cannot be an accidental or amorphous combination of different genres. Tynjanov once wrote about exactly this problem: different elements of the text do not simply coexist but rather depend on a dominating element which reorganizes these elements in relation to each other. In fact, Baxtin has in mind the same principle when he uses the example of the novel to show how the generic and ideological orientation of the "dominanta" within the unity of the novel reworks elements of various genres, which become a part of that unity.[4] Thus we are concerned with finding the dominant, the underlying structural principle of Ševčenko's prose, which would explain its multilayeredness and fragmentation within the framework of the whole.

The unusual position of the narrator relative to the narrative can be seen as such a dominant. Namely, the narrative is oriented towards the narrator. In this respect the author's intention—the creation of an "artistic" text—is not relevant, since whether consciously or unconsciously this intention is subordinate to the dominance of the narrator.

[3] L. Kodac'ka, *Xudožna proza T. H. Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1972).

[4] M. Baxtin, "Èpos i roman," in his *Voprosy literatury i èstetiki* (Moscow, 1975).

I do not intend to examine Ševčenko's text as an opposition of the genres: memoirs vs. fiction. Each of these genres, analyzed with regard to each other, has different artistic concerns, and consequently different ways of constructing the role of the narrator. Usually, however, Ševčenko's prose is discussed precisely on this level: whether Ševčenko's orientation is fictional or memoiristic. This question serves as the basic concept of his prose. In fact, in Ševčenko's text we see the collision of two orientations. The narrative is directed towards a fictional orientation, while the narrator is directed towards a memoiristic one. These two do not coexist, but remain estranged in the actual text, although it seems that on the plane of conscious creation they tend towards reconciliation. In this estrangement the fictional orientation is usually destroyed, subordinated to the stance of the narrator, which becomes the dominant in the text.

I will refer to the stance of the narrator (and to the dominant orientation in Ševčenko's prose texts) as *diaristic*. This is primarily because we find in Ševčenko's own diary a similar stance (that is, the orientation of the narrator is memoiristic by the definition of the genre, although that of the narrative is noticeably inclined towards the fictional), with the simple difference that in the *Diary* these two orientations are not estranged, since the boundaries of the genre of the diary are vague, allowing the combination of any material within the author's field of vision. The dominance of the narrator does not destroy the intended unity of the text; on the contrary, it creates the natural conditions for this unity.

THE ARTISTIC ORIENTATION OF THE *DIARY*

In the very beginning of the *Diary*, we find something of an introduction to its poetics and an explanation of the reasons which prompted the author to keep a diary:[5]

А пока совершенно нечего записать. А писать охота страшная. И перья есть очиненные. По милости ротного писаря я еще не чувствую своей утраты. А писать все-таки не о чем. А сатана так и шепчет на ухо: "Пиши что ни попало, ври сколько душе угодно. Кто тебя станет проверять." (V, 12)

[5] The edition referred to throughout this article is Taras Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, 6 vols. (Kiev, 1963), vols. 3, 4, and 5 (hereafter these volumes are cited by roman numerals).

"Satan" here appears in the role of a peculiar muse—the muse of the lie. The lie is understood in the aesthetic plane as invention or fantasy. Here prose and diary are hardly differentiated. It is not that Ševčenko vacillates between lying to embellish the flow of time or writing down everything as it is, that is, a monotonous mundanity without events or characters. The essential question is the fictional framework of the narrative in the *Diary*.

Ševčenko refrained from making up events; rather, he used a variety of substitutes for them: social journalism and descriptions of everyday life in the spirit of the "naturalist school," memoiristic excursions into the past in the guise of small novellas of character, stylization in the plot of prosaic details and occurrences of his everyday life in exile, and ornamental digressions, often oriented towards the very genre of such digressions in the literary tradition, particularly in Gogol'. In this light Ševčenko's orientation towards the creation of *prose* in his *Diary* becomes obvious.[6]

Ševčenko's tales themselves contain discussions of the interrelationships between diary and prose. In *Bliznecy* ("Twins") the narrator comments in detail on the diary-like letters of Savvatij Sokira.

"Оренбургская муха" исправно являлась на хутор каждую неделю. И чем далее, тем однообразнее. Наконец, до того дошло, что все дни недели были похожи точь-в-точь на понедельник. . . . (IV, 96)

Into the "boredom and monotony" of the factual, diaristic reality the author introduces the fictional orientation:

[6] It is generally accepted that Ševčenko did not intend his *Diary* to be read. The numerous entries in which he cites the desire to snatch a few hours from boredom as his purpose in writing a diary seem quite convincing (V, 15, 44–45, 62–63). Nonetheless as early as the second entry he quotes the following lines of Kol'cov while trying to explain that he is not writing for publication:

Пишу не для мгновенной славы,
Для развлеченья, для забавы,
Для милых искренних друзей,
Для памяти минувших дней. (V, 12)

The fact that the *Diary* was not written for publication does not necessarily indicate that it was not intended for readers; moreover, a strong orientation toward the reader is evident in it. This orientation takes different forms: as an epigraph to an entry (V, 26), an account of an event presented as a story (V, 26–27), or multiple paraphrasing which Ševčenko immediately deciphers ("vertepa merzostej, to est' ukreplenija," V, 56). The decoding of such texts reveals Ševčenko's latent orientation towards the reader most directly:

И этот человек мечтал еще равняться с Карлом Великим! (так обыкновенно называл Брюллова В. А. Жуковский). (V, 59)

О как живописно описал он это апрельское утро в своем дневнике! Он живо изобразил в нем и не виданную им киргизскую степь, уподобляя ее Сахаре, и патриархальную жизнь ее обитателей, и баранту, и похищения. Словом, все, что было им прочитано: от "П(етра) И(вановича) Выжигина" даже до "Четырех стран света", решительно все припомнил. (IV, 89–99)

"Progulka" ("The Excursion") provides an example of a "factual" artistic orientation in a diary. For the sake of experiment the narrator asks his servant Troxim to keep a travel diary. This becomes the subject of a demonstration in prose, an object of comparison with prosaic narration based on "fact" and its fictional reproduction:

Манускрипт начинался так:

"До света рано выехали мы из Киева и на десятой версте перед уездным трактиром остановились, спросили у горбатого трактирщика рюмку лимоновки, кусочек бублика и поехали дальше.

Того же дня и часа, станция Вита. Пока запрягали кони, я сидел на чемодане, а они—т. е. я—сидели на рундуку, пили сливянку и с курчавою жидовкою жартовали".

—Ты слишком в подробности вдаешься,—сказал я ему, отдавая тетрадку. (IV, 278)

In terms of content these details of Troxim's "diary" are somewhat compromising—Troxim and the narrator have written about different things in different ways. The narrator's ironic comment relates to this discrepancy. We, however, are most concerned with the juxtaposition of two narrative forms, diary and prose, based on the same facts and events. The "diary" as a text with a predetermined mode of reproduction of reality becomes the subject of narration. I would say that the "diary" here can be seen not as an incidental inclusion of the diaristic genre but as a recurring plot motif, which can be examined within the framework of narration as metalanguage.

One of the attempts to see Ševčenko's *Diary* in terms of its "artistic" models was V. Deržavyn's article "Lyricism and Humor in Ševčenko's *Diary*,"[7] where the author undertakes the analysis of stylistic elements of the text and finds evidence of deliberately introduced artistic devices. The basic conclusions of the article, however, are unconvincing. Deržavyn, probably under the influence of B. Eichenbaum's *The Young Tolstoy*, uses the main

[7] V. Deržavyn, "Liryka i humor v Ševčenkivs'kim 'Žurnali,'—" *Ševčenko. Ričnyk peršyj* (Kharkiv, 1928).

concept of this work, namely, that the diary of a writer can be seen as the experimental laboratory of his artistic prose.[8] In regard to Tolstoj this concept is chronologically convincing, but in Ševčenko's case the chronology is reversed. Ševčenko's prose did not grow from experiments in diary form simply because the former preceded the latter. In this connection it is curious that we have examples of similar entries in the *Diary* and in prose, although the entries in prose predate those of the *Diary*.[9]

Deržavyn suggests considering the *Diary* as a laboratory for the elaboration of writing skills and devices using the material of everyday reality.[10] It seems to me that precisely in this respect Deržavyn is mistaken in his approach, not only to the *Diary* but to Ševčenko's prose. Such an understanding renders the connection between them uninteresting and purely superficial, besides making impossible any explanation of Ševčenko's prose through his *Diary*. If the latter is merely a collection of exercises on the themes of the future prose, this interpretation can at best provide useful comments on the *Diary*, but the prose itself (as the artistic realization of these exercises) no longer has need of the *Diary*. Thus the potentially fruitful idea of the certain connection between Ševčenko's prose and his *Diary*—i.e., that the *Diary* is a part of the body of his prose works—loses the greater part of its significance.

The "artistic" orientation of the *Diary* realizes the stance of the narrator utilizing a variety of genres: the memoir, the "physiological sketch," the letter, the literary review, the chronicle, etc. Sometimes the stylistic transition from one genre to another occurs within one entry. For instance, a passage about Kuxarenko (V, 14) starts in the epistolary style and then continues in the style of a memoir.

Often one may speak not only about different genres as functions of an artistic orientation, but about different stylistic models, the appearance of which is determined by literary associations. These connect a word or object with the literary context where this word

[8] B. Èjxenbaum (Eichenbaum), *Molodoj Tolstoj* (Petrograd, 1922).

[9] Compare similar passages in his prose and in the *Diary*, III, 253–54, and V, 59; IV, 114 and V, 71–72.

[10] He shares here the opinion of Ajzenštok, who sees the very *raison d'etre* of the *Diary* as a "test of the pen," and extends this interpretation to Ševčenko's prose in its entirety: ". . . to write a diary means not only to collect the plot material for future function, but also to exercise the prosaic style on the material of everyday impressions" (Deržavyn, "Liryka i humor," p. 39).

or object was memorable for Ševčenko. I call this phenomenon in Ševčenko's *Diary* associative stylization. Associative stylization can be connected to characteristics either of a genre or of a style.

The entry from 16 June 1857 can serve as an example of the former case. It gives an account of the incident with the officer, Čarc, preceded by Ševčenko's comment:

Из этой истории можно бы выкроить водевиль, разумеется, водевиль для здешней публики. Назвать его можно "Свадебный подарок, или недошитая кофта". (V, 18)

The story itself follows. Ševčenko stylizes the situation in the literary and generic construction of "vaudeville." The incident itself takes on the character of retold vaudeville. The stylistic depiction of the incident is constructed with this genre in mind: (a) the use of role designations instead of names ("fiancée," "bride," "father-in-law"); (b) melodramatic exclamation-repetition with an obvious ironic coloration ("But alas!" "Poor dog!" "Wretched fiancé!"); (c) ironic periphrasis ("sends his loyal slave Gregory," "in the ardor of indignation," "noble brow" etc.); (d) use of repetition as a compositional device, constructing periods ("Fine" "but alas!").

The entry for June 17, in which stylization is based on the word, serves as an example of stylization with regard to a particular literary style:

С некоторого времени, с тех пор как мне позволено уединяться, я чрезвычайно полюбил уединение. Милое уединение. Ничего не может быть в жизни слаще, очаровательнее уединения, особенно перед лицом улыбающейся, цветущей красавицы матери-Природы. Под ее сладким волшебным обаянием человек невольно погружается сам в себя и видит бога на земле, как говорит поэт. (V, 19)

Ševčenko departs from the understanding of the word in its actual (biographical) plane. But at the same time this word is being recalled as significant in a certain literary system—sentimentalism. The juxtaposition of these two words—"uedinjat'sja" (to seclude oneself) and "uedinenie" (seclusion)—gives the impression of being a play on words, because each is affiliated with a different literary code. By this association the very style of the description is oriented towards the literary and becomes a "digression" from biographic detail. An everyday word, used to name a concrete situation, can be understood as peculiar to literature. One such instance is the "story" about Afanas'ev-Čužbinskij, which is introduced into the *Diary* through association (V, 44–45): in connection with a

"diaristic" object-motif (*samovar-čajnik*). The "story" itself is given as a symmetrical parallel to the biographical situation:

čajnik (biographical situation)	*samovar* (the "story")
Теперь же, едва успею налить в стакан чай, как перо само просится в руку. (V, 45)	Но когда я рассмотрел приятеля поближе, то оказалось, что он собственно не самовар велел подавать, а велел подавать вдохновение. . . . (V, 45)

The ironic interpretation of this "spring of inspiration" through the "story" injects self-irony into the diary-motif. This irony does not undermine, but rather emphasizes, the direct, serious, and apparently significant biographical confession of Ševčenko himself. The ironic interpretation of the "diaristic I" by means of extraneous material, constitutes an important factor in creating a model of this "I." The model is something ambivalent, being both serious and ironic, for example, when it comes to such things as prose-writing. This example can be supported with reference to one other instance in the *Diary* connected with the motif of writing:

Не знаю, долго ли продлится этот писательский жар? Как бы не сглазить. Если правду сказать, я не вижу большой надобности в этой пунктуальной аккуратности. А так—от нечего делать. На бездельи и это рукоделье. Записному литератору или какому-нибудь поставщику фельетона, тому необходима эта бездушная аккуратность как упражнение, как его насущный хлеб. Как инструмент виртуозу, как кисть живописцу, так литератору необходимо ежедневное упражнение пера. Так делают и гениальные писатели потому, что это их призвание. А пачкуны потому, что они иначе себя и не воображают, как гениальными писателями. А то бы они и пера в руки не брали. (V, 15)

The cited entry is an example of ambivalent construction with its two extremes: "genial'nyj pisatel" ("writer of genius") and "pačkun" ("hack"). Usually this entry is quoted in order to prove that the *Diary* was for Ševčenko a kind of exercise in writing, thus reducing the meaning to the neutral pattern: a writer needs exercise. But in fact Ševčenko constructs the model differently: both its poles play a role in the self-realization of the "I." The moment of ambivalence reflects the lack of self-confidence, often exhibited by Ševčenko, resulting from his exclusion from the sphere of creative activity, and ruptured connections with contemporary processes in art and literature. This is borne out by many examples relating to all fields of Ševčenko's creative activity. He writes of himself as a painter:

Десять лет неупражения в состоянии сделать и из великого виртуоза самого обыкновенного кабашного балалаешника. Следовательно, о живописи мне и думать нечего. (V, 32)

He also expresses doubts about his talent as a prose writer:

Нужно будет прочитать еще это рукоделье, что из него выйдет? Как примет его С. Т. Аксаков? (V, 201)

Even with regard to his new poetry he is uncertain of his skill:

Как-то примут земляки мои мою невольническую музу? (V, 209)

Within the framework of such a pattern certain doubts about the measure of his own poetic gift can be born:

В эпилоге к "Черной раде" П. А. Кулиш, говоря о Гоголе, Квитке и о мне грешном, указывает на меня, как на великого самобытного поэта. Не из дружбы ли это? (V, 156)

Such an understanding determines the features of "prose" in the *Diary*.[11]

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE NARRATOR AND THE NARRATIVE

Returning to the question of the relationship between Ševčenko's *Diary* and his prose, it must be pointed out that the variety of genres and styles of the former, in which all the material is combined within the self-description of "narrator," is also noticeable in Ševčenko's prose. But in the prose, fragments of various genres and styles fall under different textual rules. Therefore the disintegration of the text into fragments of various character which is so natural in the *Diary* (it suffices to note that entries made by different people are interpolated into the text without disturbing the genre) destroys the "artistic" orientation of the prose.

The aesthetic fragmentation of the prose cannot be discussed only on the plane of "artistic" tasks. If it is, we are left with no alternative but to say that Ševčenko's prose is weak, and desist from further analysis.

[11] The arrival of the battalion commander at Novopetrovsk (V, 24) can serve as an example. The whole plot is built as a series of paraphrases derived from the word for "thunderstorm" ("groza"), stylized in a plot-picture. The stylization refers to the "Homeric" literary style (the tradition of translation by Gnedič and Žukovskij). The satirical coloration of Ševčenko's depiction reflects the "burlesque" realization of this style in the tradition of Kotljarevs'kyj.

One thing declared again and again by the author is the separation of his prose from established models:

Словом, все есть, что нужно для самой полной романической картины, разумеется, под пером какого-нибудь Скотта Вальтера или ему подобного списателя природы. А я по причине нищеты моего воображения (откровенно говоря) не берусь за такое дело, да у меня, признаться, и речь не к [то]му идет. (III, 209)

. . . узел описываемого мною происшествия завязался именно в эту достопамятную ночь. Только не на почтовой станции, как это большею частию случается. . . . (IV, 248)

It is interesting to compare declarations of the narrator with their realization or non-realization in the narrative itself:

Пользуясь сим удобным случаем, я мог бы описать вам белоцерковский жидовский трактир со всеми его грязными подробностями, но фламандская живопись мне не далась, а здесь она необходима. (IV, 250)

Здесь было бы очень кстати описать со всевозможными подробностями постоялый двор; но так как это tableau de genre описывали уже многие, не токмо прозою, но даже и стихами, то я и не дерзаю соперничать ни с кем из этих досужих списателей, ни даже с самым гомерическим описанием в стихах постоялого двора, напечатанного, не помню, в каком-то журнале, где и сравнивается это описание с "Илиадою". (III, 348)

The position of the narrator on the level of declaration, with reference to literary tradition is defined as a repudiation of the "Flemish" model of depiction of reality. This does not mean, however, that we will not find this model in the narration. Here is an example of this type:

Потом достал огня, зажег свечу, лег на кровать и, странное дело, мысли мои вдруг перешли от поэмы в мое собственное прошлое. Мне представилась комната в 9-й линии, в доме булочника Донерберга; комната со всеми ее подробностями, не говорю—с мебелью: это была бы неправда. Вдоль передней стены над рабочим столом висят две полки; верхняя уставлена статуэтками и лошадками барона Клодта, а нижняя в беспорядке завалена книгами. Стена, противоположная полузакрытому единственному окну, увешана алебастровыми слепками следков и ручек, а посреди их красуется маска Лаокоона и маска знаменитой натурщицы Фортунаты. Непонятное украшение не для художника. (IV, 293)

This sort of description is not rare in Ševčenko; moreover, its source can be found in the literary tradition known to him. For instance, in spite of its autobiographical authenticity the description given above undoubtedly goes back to the Gogolian description of the studio in "Nevskij prospekt." The literary examples to which

Ševčenko refers in his prose (mostly taken from Gogol') were themselves full of "Flemish" descriptions.[12]

It is very difficult to explain the gap between declaration on the level of the narrator and its realization in the text itself if we remain within the traditional literary framework. We can clarify the picture by assuming that we have not a contradiction within the boundaries of one system, but rather two separate systems, each of which provides a reason for bringing in fragments of different types to correspond to different tasks.

One can find a model of description "with details," which the narrator rejects on the level of declaration, in the following passage:

В одну из таких прогулок я нечаянно попал на совершенно рюисдалевское болото (известная картина в Эрмитаже), даже первый план картины с мельчайшими подробностями тот же самый, что и у Рюисдаля. Я просидел около болота несколько часов сряду и сделал довольно оконченный рисунок с фламандского двойника. (IV, 303)

It should be noted that the key word here is *Flemish*. The whole passage, as often happens in Ševčenko, has no direct relation to the plot construction of the tale, but appears to be in the nature of an interpretation, related to the biographical level of the narrator. It is even more obvious if we remember that the passage is preceded by a memoiristic description of a landscape (". . . the panorama, which lay before me, reminded me vividly of the artistic drawing of *my unforgettable Sternberg*, drawn from nature somewhere in Baškiria"), which by its construction is motivated by something other than the demands of the narration. Besides this, the quoted passage ends with a phrase which, by virtue of its intonational and syntactic characteristics, may be described as appertaining to the context of the diary (particularly to Ševčenko's *Diary*, where such constructions often appear): "It would be interesting to collate it with the famous picture." All that we have mentioned compels us, first, to note the "diaristic" construction of the quoted passage; second, to connect the introduction of the "Flemish" model (in spite of the narrator's declaration at the beginning of "Progulka")

12 The nature of romantic prose does not necessarily exclude "Flemish" traits. For romantic prose, "Flemish" features were not forbidden because "romantic" was understood as a free, non-traditional aesthetic. It was not a literary taboo which created this aesthetic, but rather, modes of interpretation (cf., for example, the second "Flemish" chapter in Marlinskij's typically romantic tale "Ispytanie").

with the sources which lie outside the aesthetic structure of the narrative and do not conform to the declarations within the latter.[13]

THE NARRATOR AS OBSERVER

In this regard it may prove interesting to trace the character and function of one constant motif-declaration of the narrator, in its relation to the "plausibility" of described objects and events. Here is an example:

Не описываю вам ни великолепных дубов, насажденных прадедами, составляющих лес, освещенный заходящим солнцем, среди которого высится бельведер с куполом огромного барского дома; ни той широкой и величественной просеки или аллеи, ведущей к дому; ни огромного села, загроможденного экипажами, лошадьми, лакеями и кучерами,—не описываю потому, что нас встретила, перед самым въездом в аллею, бесконечная кавалькада амазонок и амазонов и совершенно сбила меня с толку. (III, 214)

The text is constructed ambivalently: on the one hand, we have the declaration of the narrator, on the other, the description given in the narrative, which contradicts the declaration. This declaration ("I am not describing") is constructed on the principle of "plausibility": I cannot do two things at once (cf. Ševčenko's entry that he does not believe in the plausibility of the stories about Caesar, who, according to descriptions, could dictate letters simultaneously to several different people). Thus for the narrator, the introduction for description in the text should be motivated by the principle of "plausibility."

The function of plausibility in different systems of genres varies. In memoirs, plausibility is the central orientation of the author toward truthfulness, so that the latter can be identified by readers with plausibility. In the artistic text, if it is not composed as a type of a memoir text, the orientation toward plausibility could be marked only in cases of its deliberate violation. The very distinction between the plausible and the implausible is undesirable. For this distinction will disturb the aesthetic integrity of the text. The author can refer to plausibility as one of the characteristics of his

[13] Another example:

И церковь, и село, и полунагие закопченные дети—словом, все являет из себя вид весьма живописный. Совершенно во вкусе Ван-Остада наших подающих надежды tableaugenr' истов. (III, 286)

poetics, but it would mean that what is brought to the fore is a problem of perception of reality by the narrator and confidence in such perception, rather than introduction of reality by the narrator.

Ševčenko insists on the plausible (actual) perspective as a definite orientation of his prose, using the generic of memoirs—the accurate rendering of "facts." Furthermore, this orientation is related to features which belong exclusively to the plane of the narrator:

Не описываю вам ни хозяйки, ни хозяина, потому что во время нашей аудиенсии на дворе было почти темно, следовательно подробностей рассмотреть было невозможно. (III, 215)

Глаза он постоянно опускал и прятал под черными длинными ресницами, а потому об них положительно сказать ничего нельзя, как и о верхней губе, которой контур прятался под усами, а нижняя была прекрасно очерчена, только немного толстовата. (IV, 307–308)

Спрятался я за какого-то плечистого мужика и выглядываю, как мышь из ларя. Обряд уже начался, и безрукий мой кавалер-незнакомец держит венец над головой невесты. Сбоку вижу, что невеста красавица, а посмотреть в лицо нельзя. Досадно. (IV, 310)

As one can see from these examples, of which there are a multitude in Ševčenko, the plausibility of descriptions is first of all connected with the transposition into a literary model of principles of depiction on canvas: what is described is what is visible to the eye. Thus literary conditions of description are opposed to pictorial conditions. But because the principles of painting cannot be simply transposed into the aesthetics of literary construction, we face rather the problem of attaching these principles to the figure of the narrator-painter (cf. the constant juxtaposition of observed reality with pictorial subjects, a feature peculiar to the narrative style of Ševčenko). Therefore narrative text is composed as reality described in a diary, where veristic perspective and boundaries of the described are guaranteed by the possibilities of the observer ("transcriber" as Ševčenko as narrator calls himself). The following passage from "Kapitanša" (Captain's wife) can serve as an example of a "diaristic" narrator in moments of descriptive narration:

В г. Кромы мы прибыли ночью и до рассвета выехали; следовательно, о городе Кромах мне тоже нечего сказать. . . . (III, 348)

My last example is very revealing. It refers to the narrator's acquaintance with the characters in the story he presents. He had been at their estate, quite by chance, long before the time of the

present narrative, not knowing that he would later write about them:

> О, если б я знал тогда, что когда-то придется мне писать историю обитателей этого роскошного уединения! Я бы тогда не ограничился одним поверхностным взглядом, а постарался бы проникнуть и в хоромы, и всюду, куда только можно проникнуть, всюду бы заглянул, и может быть, тогда моя история была бы и полнее, и круглее. Но прошлого не воротишь. Ограничимся тем, что теперь имеем. (III, 287)

We have here a refusal on the narrator's part to describe details and histories of his characters' lives, a refusal motivated by a lack of personal acquaintance with subjects whom the narrator did not then see as future material for a story. The "diaristic" motivation of this passage is indisputable.

In terms of literary tradition this device appears to be a rejection of the omnipotent narrator, a rejection which in itself determines the narrator's characteristic features. In this connection it should be mentioned that Ševčenko is exceptionally consistent in maintaining distance between the narrator and characters in the story: the narrator almost never "recounts" the consciousness of the character. In other words, narrative models like "he thought" or "he felt" with respect to other characters are extremely rare in Ševčenko's prose. Every time they occur it is as if they were modeled by the *skaz-narrator.* This is even more unusual if we keep in mind that Gogol', for instance, whose patterns Ševčenko very often follows, uses such models quite often even within the structure of *skaz*, where they contradict the conventions of the form.

A full description of the inner world of a character occurs in Ševčenko only in the presence of a first-person narrator, i.e., the narrator himself or his character-narrators (particularly in "Muzykant" and "Xudožnik"), who in essence are doubles of the narrator.

This peculiarity of Ševčenko's prose bears witness to the narrator's position of observer of described reality. I would say that the diaristic nature of the narrator manifests itself in this relationship. In his prose Ševčenko creates a system similar to the system of a diary: reality is described from the outside, without its own position and voice, revealing itself in the aspect of its description. The world of the narrator, on the other hand, is furnished with reflection, inner voice, and position. As a result, reality, in this

alignment, represents the material for the formation and revelation of the narrator's world.

THE NARRATOR'S PERSONA AND ITS REALIZATION IN THE *SKAZ*

The examples given above are not only relevant to particular criteria for the description of a reality which we call diaristic. Because they are numerous, consistent, and characteristic for the whole corpus of Ševčenko's prose, they can be used as evidence of the creation of a stable system of motifs on the level of the narrator. As motifs I here understand the repetition of facts, events, names, images, etc., in various narrative contexts. In this fashion a superstructure is created independent of the actual plot. The plot, in turn, can be viewed as the application of the super structure. By definition, then, this structure is attached not to the narrative, which often cannot explain the appearance of this or that motif, but to the narrator, who is its only source.

If we consider all Ševčenko's novellas as one text, we find that they have one narrator, who is not bound by geographical or temporal characteristics. It is important to realize that we speak not of the narrator as a system of authorial opinions, but of a narrator who has actual biographical and plot characteristics. This feature is peculiar to the model of the narrator-character in the cycle (for instance, in Turgenev's *Zapiski oxotnika* (Sketches of a Huntsman), but Ševčenko did not conceive his novellas as a cycle, at least in terms of narrative. On the other hand, the typology of the narrator does not depend on the degree to which a given tale is "biographical." Researchers have pointed out that the body of Ševčenko's tales is not homogeneous in terms of its adherence to a biographical plot. For instance, there is "Najmyčka" ("The Servant"), the tale furthest removed from such a plot; in contrast, we have "Xudožnik" ("The Artist"), the nearest to biographical narration. Nevertheless, in the first case as well as in the second, the narrator's features remain unchanged.

First of all, the narrator is Ukrainian, a feature which is marked in the structure of the narrator. This feature has two aspects. The first is exclusively biographical, with a special connotation. The narrator always uses the word "countryman" when addressing other characters, as well as in making generalizations. This word appears not only in stories which take place, for example, in the Urals, but also in the Ukraine. Thus the recurring motif of

geographical separation from one's homeland appears in the biographical aspect of the narrator. This, in turn, is connected with the other aspect: the national-biographical.

The narrator in Ševčenko always takes the role of an "eyewitness." The usual model is that in: "Circumstances once compelled me to visit. . ." (III, 140). This role of the narrator is poorly differentiated from the narrator as "researcher," i.e., the "antiquarian" or "collector of folk songs" (IV, 26). The narrator, ironically, identifies these two faces:

> Я призадумался. А что в самом деле, не махнуть ли по праву разыскателя древностей полюбоваться на сельские импровизированные забавы? (III, 210–11)

This lack of demarcation between two images of the narrator is created by the common stance of the narrator as a biographical personage. The identification of these two images reveals the common historical and national world of the narrative. Through the "stories," i.e., the impressions of the "eyewitness," national history is depicted as it appears through monuments and legend, and in the present day. The "stories" and "history" are an indivisible text, united by the structure of the narrator. For example, in the introduction to "Najmyčka," where national legend and historical fact about Romodanov's road, even though it has no relation to the plot ("we started to talk about it only because the event which is described here takes place alongside it"; III, 63) are connected through the narrator ("po dolgu opisatelja") to the plot of the story, giving the latter a broader national context. Or, in the introduction to "Knjaginja" ("The Princess"), the history of the village is introduced strictly through the biographical world of the narrator, who is at the same time the main character of the story.

In the national-biographical aspect, the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative is of the kind usually referred to as *skaz*. The features of *skaz* are scattered throughout the narration: ". . . one could stop by the tavern in Mytnyci [village] and wait till the rain was over. . ." (IV, 248). Specifications of this kind (which are even singled out grammatically as specifications) have the aim of drawing the *skaz* reality for the reader, who is not acquainted with the geography of the tales. Here the *skaz* is oriented towards the Russian reader from the interior of the Ukrainian world. This narration is realizing itself as a narration in Russian. This is especially noticeable in the comments of the narrator on cultural or material *realia* (*lavy, ili skamejki* 'the branches,' *na cvyntari, ili na pogoste* 'in

the churchyard'—III, 351, 401; *na ganok, t.e. na kryl'co* 'on the porch'—IV, 9). In most cases the *skaz* quality is condensed in the introduction to the tales. Here the literary sources of *skaz* are more clear, as, for instance, at the beginning of "Muzykant":

Если вы, благосклонный читатель, любитель отечественной старины, то, проезжая город Прилуки П(олтавской) г(убернии), советую вам остановиться на сутки в этом городе, а если это случится не осенью и не зимою, то можно остаться и на двое суток. И, во-первых, познакомьтеся с отцом протоиереем Илиею Бодянским, а во-вторых, посетите с ним же, отцом Илиею, полуразрушенный монастырь Густыню, по ту сторону реки Удая, верстах в трех от г. Прилуки. (III, 209)

Ševčenko's dependence on Gogol's introduction to the "Večera" is apparent. But in Gogol', this "local color" serves as the function of *skaz*, creating the geographically crowded world of the narrator, who motivates the character of the narration. In Ševčenko we have a different twist: the quoted passage is connected to the biographical features of the narrator ("per procurationem of the Kiev Archeographical Commission"), which are not part of the *skaz* mask. *Skaz* structure creates a biographical world rather than a *skaz* world in this case. *Skaz* and the "I"-narration constitute two modes which are indivisible within the narrative. Therefore literary influences (Gogol', Kvitka) with regard to the narrator recede into the background; the author's inner task is more important. He must render a biographical and diaristic structure within the intention of traditional artistic models.

In Ševčenko *skaz* is the favored type of description by a "person," by the "I." It gives to this "I" the independent character of living expression. It is firmly connected to the diaristic quality of narration and in most cases cannot remain in the form of *skaz* as an "illusion," but turns into strict diary form. The form of *skaz* also has a national orientation, where the *skaz*-narrator is not only a "person" but a "national person." *Skaz* identifies the national with the personal.[14] These two principles are constantly linked in

[14] As an example one can compare frames in "Najmyčka" and "Knjaginja." The very pattern of frame can show an invariant of compositional beginning in the tales (only "Progulka" constitutes an exception). The fact that this pattern does not entirely belong to the plot is emphasized by the narrator's constant return from the frame to the plot:

Эти рассуждения ведут только к тому, что отдаляют от читателя предмет, который я намерен ему представить как на ладони. (IV, 140)

. . .да у меня, признаться, и речь не к [то]му идет. (III, 209)

the narration (cf. for instance the historical and biographical meditations of the narrator in "Progulka"—IV, 273). The beginning of "Progulka" can serve as an example of the national and biographical theme, which is stressed in this respect.

> Вздумалось мне в прошлом году встретить нашу прекрасную украинскую весну где-нибудь подальше от города. Хотя и в таком городе, как садами укрытый наш златоглавый Киев, она не теряет своей прелести, но все же—город, а мне захотелось уединенного тихого уголка. Эта поэтическая мысль пришла мне в голову в начале или в половине апреля, не помню хорошенько. Помню только, что это случилось в самый развал нашей знаменитой малороссийской грязи. Можно бы и подождать немного,—весною грязь быстро сохнет. Но уж если что мне раз пришло в голову, хотя бы самое несбыточное, так хоть роди, а подавай. На этом пункте я имею большое сходство с моими неподатливыми земляками. (IV, 247)[15]

This reality, expressed by the *skaz* mode and colored with national features, constantly oversteps the boundaries of generic expectations and enters the realm of strict narrative structure, with a morality which bears the open, diaristic character:

> Где у нас в России та великая академия, которая образовывает таких бездушных автоматов. . . (IV, 337)

At the same time, on the level of literary tradition we are again faced with "epic" Gogolian models. This becomes especially obvious in instances where the object of meditation is a Ukrainian:

> Правда, что редко встречаются в русском человеке две эти добродетели, т. е. и мастерство и трезвость, однако ж втречаются, и вот вам доказательство—Туман. (III, 375)

The point here is not even that the quoted passage goes back typologically to Gogol' (cf. the statment "Ivan Jakovlevič, like every

---

> Я одначе во зло употребляю терпение моих благосклонных слушателей: разносился с своим Ромоданом, как дурень с писаною торбой, наговорил, что твоя перекупка с бубликами, а о самом-то деле не сказал еще ни слова. (III, 64)

Thus the frame by itself is a compositional narrative device connected to a narrator. It is, so to speak, his domestic realm which appears to be a source for the condensed *skaz*-quality in a frame. At the same time it is an area of the greatest biographical density. *Skaz* and biographical elements are easily identified in the *text* of Ševčenko's tale on the basis of the structural pattern in a frame. If in the beginning of "Knjaginja" the *skaz*-pattern is built on the biographical material, the beginning of "Najmyčka" presents the same pattern on folkloric and ethnographic levels.

[15] In the first draft Ševčenko had "našu prekrasnuju vesnu" in the first sentence of the passage quoted (IV, 249).

decent Russian workman, was a terrible drunkard,'' in ''Nos''), but that the very usage of the word *Russian* here is also from Gogol', from the second version of *Taras Bulba* in which the original *Ukrainian* was changed to *Russian* despite the historical and geographical absurdity of such a change. Within the system of ''mythological'' history in Gogol' these renamings bring principle to the forefront, heedless of realia. To Ševčenko the whole is also important: in his case the moralistic whole, which in his prose is based on elements of personal, biographic experience. The moralistic picture requires broad generalizations as an essential characteristic of the model. In this regard one may note the similarities between the prosaic and diaristic structures in constituting such models. Thus Ševčenko's following Gogolian patterns in the artistic plane is of secondary importance. The starting point here is the tendency of Ševčenko's prose to realize diaristic models.

NARRATIVE MOTIFS

One of the essential features in Ševčenko's tales is the recurrence of narrative motifs. This principle of text construction is primarily used in poetry and in Ševčenko's poetry in particular. We can find traces of this manner of introducing motifs in ''Najmyčka,'' where the narrator develops a meditation on the possible fate of the main character. The whole meditation is based on the motif of the ''pokrytka,'' or fallen woman, as it appears in the poetry of Ševčenko himself or in the prose of, for instance, Kvitka (cf. ''Serdečna Oksana,'' to which Ševčenko refers). It is interesting that Ševčenko takes all poetical interpolations in the tale not from his poem of the same name and plot, but from ''Kateryna,'' which represents and underlines the stable motif rather than the similarity of plot lines.[16]

Ševčenko's motifs, however, are not always literary. In the same tale (''Najmyčka'') there is the narrative motif of the aged Jakim:

[16] It could be compared with the narrative meditation concerning this motif in ''Bliznecy'':

И я не намерен утруждать вас повторением тысячи и одной, к несчастию, не вымышленной, повести или поэмы в этом плачевном роде, начиная с ''Эды'' Баратынского и кончая ''Катериной'' Ш(евченка) и ''Сердечной Оксаной'' Основьяненка. (IV, 74)

. . . вынул пчел из погреба, расставил их как следует по пасике, взял Ефрема Сирина и поселился на все лето в пасике. (III, 134)

Ševčenko also says about him:

Он пришел в свое нормальное положение, подчас непрочь был послушать, как отец Нил играет на гуслях и как отец диякон поет "Всякому городу нрав и права".

We find elements of these motifs in different combinations in other tales. For example, in "Twins," old Nikifor Sokira, a beekeeper, spends all his time at the beehives.

А в день ангела отца Григория, после ужина, к великому восторгу гостей, спели они, с аккомпаниманом на гуслях, сатирическую песню Сковороды, которая начинается так:

Всякому городу нрав и права,. . . (IV, 18)

Через несколько дней Степан Мартынович сидел на своей пасике и пытался [найти] у Ефрема Сирина, отчего вышла такая противуположность между родными братьями. . . (IV, 121)

Psaltery is given elaboration:

Кроме библиотеки, отказал он ему еще дорогую скрипку и свои любимые гусли с изображением на внутренней части двух пляшущих пастушек с посошками и пастушка, под липою у ручья играющего на флейте. (IV, 20)

We find the same details in "Progulka":

Дом отца Саввы наружностию своею ничем не отличался от большой мужицкой хаты. . . на столике лежат раскрытые гусли с изображением на внутренней стороне крышки пляшущих пастушек и играющего на флейте пастушка. (IV, 298)

These autoquotations, which are characteristic of Ševčenko's tales, are evidence that they compose one narrative text in which the system of motifs form a kind of supertext. The motifs, by their obligatory and repetitive nature, introduce an external connection to the particular text. This relation is imposed on the plot by the narrator. In Ševčenko one can find a multitude of motifs which, in general, have nothing to do with the plot into which they are introduced; they are explicitly biographical. The motif of Sternberg, for example, has a plot motivation only in the tale "Xudožnik." Nevertheless, we encounter this motif in narratives of very different character:

. . . панорама, лежавшая предо мною, живо напоминала мастерской рисунок незабвенной моего Штернберга, сделанный им с натуры где-то в Башкирии. (IV, 303)

. . . Он повел нас мимо старой деревянной одноглавой церкви и четырехугольной бревенчатой колокольни, глядя на которую я вспомнил картину незабвенного моего Штернберга "Освящение пасок", и мне грустно стало. (III, 211)

This motif, which identifies the narrator in all tales as one biographical person, can also appear in the "I"-narration of some character other than the primary narrator, as for instance, the actress Tarasevič in "Muzykant":

Не заметили ли вы тогда у нас на бале молодого, весьма скромного человека, с большими выпуклыми глазами, со вздернутым носом и большим ртом? Это был художник Штернберг. Он тогда у нас все лето провел. Кроткое благороднейшее создание! (III, 255)

The appearance of the stable motif in Ševčenko's prose can be traced also on the level of plot. As an example, we have the German doctor, who has characteristics consistant with such a motif:

"Карл Самойлович Стерн, эскулап наш уездный. Ему так нравится наш истинно христианский обычай, что он каждий год надевает мундир и является к обедне. Собственно для этого праздника хочет принять нашу православную веру. . . ." (III, 402)

А в середу перед вечером приехал к ним искренний друг их, Карло Осипович Гарт, таки аптекарь переяславский. . . (IV, 11)

Sometimes we must deal with variations on this motif, which are also stable: the village inhabitants—the German doctor and his Ukrainian wife, who appear as friends of the narrator and benefactors of the unfortunate character:

Так, Ан[тон] Адамович? Ты ведь немец. А?"—"Такой я немец, как [ты] немкиня",—проговорил Антон Адамович и засмеялся. (III, 241)

Настоящий немец!—повторила она.

И не сидел около немца!—сказал без улыбки Степан Осипович, закуривая сигару. (IV, 365)

The motifs as superstructure of the plot are not connected with the aesthetic task of narration.[17] In Ševčenko's text we can find even more specific indications of the sources of these motifs. A passage from "Kapitanša" is a good example:

[17] The motif of a manuscript accepted for publication, which often appears in Ševčenko's tales (cf. "Kapitanša," III, 364; "Muzykant," III, 251-52), is undoubtedly connected to the biographical situation of the poet himself, who submits his manuscript under an assumed name (Darmograj). Yet, in terms of literary tradition this motif can be seen as conventional. Thus we again face the situation which reflects a dual reason for this prose.

Закуривши сигару (я то время еще курил сигары), [я] развязал и, развернув сверток, сел около стола на лаве, с умыслом не позволяя себе никакого комфорта или просто горизонтального положения, чтобы не сделать в своем роде [не]вежливости и не заснуть пред лицом автора на первой же странице его скромного творения. (III, 367)

From the point of view of the narration, the whole sentence is unmotivated and superfluous. First, the observation about the time when the narrator smoked cigars instantly switches the attention of the reader from the narration to the narrator.[18] The sources for this observation can be found in Ševčenko's *Diary*, as, for example, in the entry for 1 July 1857:

Если бы еще хорошую сигару вот[к]нуть в лицо, такую, например, как прислал мне 25 штук мой друг Лазаревский, тогда бы я себя легко мог вообразить на петергофском празднике. Но это уж слишком. (V, 42)

Secondly, the phrase about being afraid to fall asleep cannot be interpreted either as a simple comment to the manuscript, which the narrator is preparing to read (irony), or as a literary cliché. In the same tale we can find many passages dedicated to sleep or sleeping with regard to the narrator. This motif repeats itself consistently from tale to tale, even maintaining a stable situational pattern:

Для этого я уселся под развесистым вязом и предался сладкому созерцанию очаровательной природы.

Созерцание однако ж не долго длилося; я прислонился к бересту и безмятежно уснул. (III, 219)

А я на некотором расстоянии обошел вокруг широковетвистого Мафусаила и, не найдя желаемого пункта по причине полдневного освещения, прилег в тени того же Мафусаила, полюбовался издали на его могучих сверстников, да и задремал. (IV, 373)

[18] One can see a similar pattern in the following example:

Что будешь делать? Читать нечего. Думать не о чем (в то время я повестей еще не сочинял). (III, 349)

In such examples, it becomes obvious how the temporal perspective in the tales constantly refers to a narrator as the "point of ordering" time. Moreover, one can see the implied ironic comments of the author as to the very origin of the tales, and these comments reveal identical motivation both for the prose as well as for the *Diary*. About the diary: "Na bezdelji i èto *rukodelje*" (V, 15); about the prose: "Nužno budet pročitat' ešče èto *rukodelje*, Čto iz nego vyjdet?" (V, 201). What is significant here, for us, is the similarity in attitude toward the writing of prose and toward the writing of the *Diary*, i.e., their existence in Ševčenko's consciousness as phenomena of the same order.

There is a certain insistence in this motif of sleep, which the narrator recognizes and treats ironically. Yet this does not detract from the importance of the motif to the narrator:

А венцом украшения комнаты были две койки с чистыми, свежими постелями, на которые мы возлегли и заснули, да не как-нибудь поворовски, а заснули по-хозяйски, т.е. до заката солнца. (IV, 365)

Sometimes we can find this motif in the text put as if it were simply a diary entry:

Против обыкновения я скоро заснул. Спал крепко, но не долго. (IV, 343)

The relevance of this motif for the narrator could be revealed better in the *Diary* than in the set of motivations within a specific tale. Note, for instance, the entry for July 13:

Я возратился на огород, лег под своей заветною вербою и, сам не знаю, как это случилося, уснул и проснулся уже на рассвете. Редкое, необыкновенное событие! Такие дни и такие события я должен вносить в мою хронику, потому что я вообще мало спал, а в последние дни сон меня решительно оставил. (V, 66; cf. also V, 68, 73)

Thus the importance of this motive in the *Chronicles*, as Ševčenko himself points out, retains its relevance in his prose. The latter takes on aspects of a chronicle, the diary of the narrator. In other words, the author transfers the narrator out of the reality of the diary, where he belongs, into the "fictional" world.

A multitude of other examples convince us as to the diaristic nature of the narrator. In order to understand the difference between what we call "diaristic" and "memoiristic" narrators, let us consider the most "biographical" of Ševčenko's tales, "The Artist":

На улице расстался я с Венециановым и пошел сообщить Карлу Павловичу результат собственной дипломации. Но, увы! даже Лукьяна не нашел. Липин, спасибо ему, выглянул из кухни и сказал, что ушли в портик. (IV, 158)

Brjullov's pupil Lipin, a former serf who lived in one room with Ševčenko at Brjullov's house, was well known to the author. In the author's eyes, Lipin did not require an annotated introduction into the biographical plot, in which the main characters are artists. At the same time there is a difference between the diaristic and memoiristic intentions of the text. The artist Venecianov, presumably well known to a reader unfamiliar with the narrator's biographical context, could be mentioned in the tale without additional comments. Lipin is a figure who belongs entirely to the context of the

narrator, which is unknown to the reader. The first introduction of such a figure into the narration requires some additional explanation. In this respect, Ševčenko has a diaristic intention in his text. The problem here is not that the character belongs to the realm of the narrator, but the fact that Ševčenko does not fully transfer him into the realm of the fictional narrative.

On the other hand, one may contrast this diaristic orientation with the narrative orientation towards the reader in the *Diary* itself:

И этот человек мечтал еще равняться с Карлом Великим! (так обыкновенно называл Брюллова В. А. Жуковский). (V, 59)

These gaps between two planes are felt in narrative comments that are not motivated by the needs of the narration:

Взявшись с приятелем под руки, (чего я, между прочим, терпеть не могу), и пошли вдоль изгороди. . . . (III, 226)

The remark in parentheses is motivated by the diaristic person of the narrator rather than the narrator of a prose tale.

EXPRESSION OF TIME

The question of time is extremely relevant to a complete understanding of gaps in the planes of narrative and narrator. There are many examples of confusion of time constructions in the narrative which point not so much to authorial negligence or inconsistency as to the difficulties of holding the narration within the limits of a single temporal perspective. This difficulty stems from the gaps between the two planes. Thus time, too, exists in two planes which cannot always be unified. There are cases where the usual perspective of real time is disturbed because the construction of the text is oriented toward the creation of a motif. The latter is consistently seen as being outside actual plot time, creating the possibility of chronological discrepancies. For example, in the tale "Varnak" ("The Convict"), the daughter of the old widow is said to be a few years older than the hero (III, 146). Ten pages later, however, we learn that the hero is seventeen and that this girl, who then should be nineteen or twenty, already has a ten-year-old daughter.

One may find other, though not such obvious examples of confused expression of time within predetermined boundaries (cf. "Progulka"—IV, 302–303). The genre of the letter is an interesting example of time construction because the letter and the diary

are poorly differentiated in Ševčenko's narration.[19] The last letter of the musician to Ivan Maksimovič ("Muzykant") begins as follows:

> Я так счастлив, так бесконечно счастлив, что едва могу писать вам. . . . (III, 276)

This refers to the hero's liberation and his approaching marriage, the description of which follows in the letter. From the very beginning the events in the letter are retrospective with regard to this exclamation and one expects the description of events to follow in the past tense. That is indeed what happens in the first lines ("Well, I begin with the fact that last fall M. Arnovskij returned from Kiev. . ."). But then the present tense is introduced, indicating that the time of the events and the time of their description is the same.

> Один только Антон Адамыч по-прежнему молчит и добродушно улыбается. (III, 277)

> Через неделю после этой радости Антон Адамович, не сказав никому ни слова, уехал опять к управляющему. . . . (III, 278)

But this past tense is the future with regard to what was given above as the present. There is no single unified point by which time can be ordered. This feature is integral to the genre of the letter. These "points of ordering" vary widely and are constantly confused. In the corpus of a letter there is no possibility of combining times in the way they combined in Ševčenko's work. The

[19] The letter as a genre-fragment is peculiar to the prose of Ševčenko. In it, the letter itself has very specific features: hence it is particularly a diary-letter. This is constantly emphasized by the author:

> Первые письма его еднообразны и похожи на подробный и монотонный дневник школьника. (IV, 174)

> Я намерен вести здесь дневник и посылать к вам по листочку каждую неделю; вы и будете видеть меня как бы перед собою, прочитывая мои листочки. (IV, 91)

> И он обещался мне вести дневник и посылать его каждый месяц ко мне вместо писем. (III, 240)

Finally in his own diary:

> Лазаревскому вместо письма пошлю эти две тетради моего журнала, пускай читает с Семеном во ожидании меня, его искреннего счастливого друга. (V, 81)

Thus the narrative features of a diary and letter were identified in Ševčenko's consciousness on the ground of specific biographical circumstances. This, in turn, led to the orientation of the *Dairy* toward epistolary style and vice versa. In Ševčenko's prose one can see the union of these genres which constitutes the basis of his prose and is present throughout it.

only recourse is to imagine that the letter was written with intermissions and that the time changes after each one. But in the letter itself there is no such indication. Nothing remains but to assume that the letter is composed on the model of the diary, so that entries from different times, with each chronologically separated moment of writing fixed as a moment in present tense, constitutes the single text of the letter (cf. a similar letter written by Savvatij Sokira in "Bliznecy"). I think that Ševčenko makes these transactions unconsciously because the narration as a whole tends to be based on a diaristic model.

With regard to this model one can find a multitude of grammatical and stylistic constructions which have a diaristic nature, as here in "Progulka":

Принимался думать о моем матросе,—куда тебе, и чепуха даже в голову не лезет. Просто оцепение моральное и физическое. (IV, 279)

Я был погружен в вопрос, куда девалась непостижимая красавица. Загадка, таинственный сфинкс для меня эта обитательница подвижного терема! (IV, 280)

Глупо и еще раз глупо! И даже неоригинально глупо! Прохор первый думает теперь, что я тиран, что я бешеная собака, что со мною не только добрый человек, сам черт не уживется. Еще раз глупо! (IV, 358)

It is worth comparing the following passage from "Progulka":

—Кухарка ты, кухарка! Моя милая кузина,—подумал я,—да и кухарка-то еще сомнительная! Зато несомненная сплетница. (IV, 281)

with a similar passage from the *Diary*:

Палач ты, как видно, по призванию и только по названию лекарь. (V, 22)

THE NARRATOR AS A "PROSE" WRITER

We can describe the narrator's reality by juxtaposing Ševčenko's poetry and prose as two texts. What I mean by this is not juxtaposing works having the same name, but taking the poetry and the prose as two wholes and considering them as expressions of the narrators' attitudes to the reality of the narrative. These two attitudes are different, yet each is fully realized. It is significant that in "Najmyčka" Ševčenko uses fragments not from his poem of the same title, but from another poem, "Kateryna." He is not so much concerned with correlating prosaic and poetic elements of the same plot as with poetry and prose as different modes of expression. I do not intend to examine this problem as a whole; its

complexity requires special research. I am concerned, rather, in the juxtaposition of prose and poetry as it reveals the prevailing structure of the narrator in Ševčenko's prose.

The plot level of "Progulka" provides sample material with which to examine this relationship. In this tale we are dealing with a story about the narrator himself, who attempts to create an artistic work based on the reality he describes. His first choice falls on the poetic embodiment of his theme, "the sailor" ("no other form of poetry but the *poema* fits this plot"—IV, 258), which he later rejects in favor of a prose narrative. Here we have a pattern which corresponds creatively and biographically to Ševčenko's own: a work with identically-titled variants in prose and poetry. In this case the situation itself becomes the object of the narrator's plot.

In this tale the narrative structure is the most open to the influences of the diaristic mode; this manner manifests itself involuntarily, as it were. This is quite natural since the narrator here is the center of the narrative: it is his journey and observations on the relations between characters which constitute the narration. "Progulka" is the only tale in which the narrator identifies himself in the plot ("'I am the artist Darmograj' I said"—IV, 361) because he is the central character. The theme of the narrator's plot essentially becomes the theme of the unrealized "heroic poem."

It is in connection with this theme that the tale is divided into two parts (the only tale with such a division). In the first part the plot is given, along with the narrator's fruitless attempts to write a poem about the characters. In this part the narrator stands off to the side, distanced by his imagination. The story of the "relative," however, destroys this secrecy and distance. The first part ends with a final rejection of the conception of the *poema*:

> Дорогой я переделал свою героическую поэму на сию скромную "Прогулку с удовольствием и не без морали", а что дальше будет, увидим. (IV, 316)

This first part shows not only the narrator's failure to write the poem ("I set to work on my poem, but it went badly"), but also the initial state of inspiration which impelled him to attempt it and which defines its character and origins as he sees them. In chapter seven the transition from raw material to creativity is shown in the dream of the narrator. In the dream poetic inspiration transforms reality. The image of the unknown woman he met on the road appears to somehow "fix" the mystery of the whole picture. The scale and mode in which this reality appears is that of the *duma*,

realized in the grandiose images of painting (IV, 287–88). The very theme of the sailor, taken from a magazine, undergoes a change in genre as a result of the "Duma on Alexej, pirjatinskij popovich." This duma determines the mode of poetic assimilation of the author's theme (the picture of the storm, which makes up the landscape of the dream, is a pictorial variation on a similar theme in the duma). Herein lie the generic origins of the *poema* as it was conceived:

. . .думы мои остановились на лирныке. Сон в руку—как говорится . . . Я искал рукавиц, а они за поясом торчат; я искал образца для своего будущего произведения, и искал черт знает где. (IV, 290)

The narrator in this "heroic" poem obviously wants to identify himself with the poet, the performer of *dumy*, taking them as a pattern. He uses the beginning of the "Duma on Alexej" as an epigraph to the first part of his poem. We are dealing here with the modeling of the structure of the poetical narrator, the epic poet.

The turn that the story of the sailor (narrated by the "relative": "It is such a story, I would say, that you could publish it in the newspapers"—IV, 314) takes comments on the narrator's failure with his conceived poem. It is in fact *after* the relative tells the story of Elena Kurnatovskaja and her brother that the narrator decides to abandon the idea of the poem once and for all ("So much for the 'heroic poem'"—IV, 316) and redoes his story in prose. This episode, i.e., the narration of the story of the sailor, repeats itself in the tale. We will hear it once more in the second part:

. . .я рассказал ей, тоже по секрету, историю про моего героя и про его очаровательную сестру. Внимательно выслушала она мою повесть и, чего я не чаял от ее возраста, глубоко задумалась. Я тоже призадумался и, глядя на нее, сам себя спрашивал, не сочиняет ли и она теперь поэму на эту возвышенную тему, как я сочинял. А почему же и не так? Ее непорочной душе это доступнее, нежели записному поэту. (IV, 383)

This is the second comment on the theme of the abandoned *poema* given completely within the stance of the narrator and forming the oppositions:

"lirnyk"		"zapisnoj poet" ("writer")
"uncorrupted soul"	vs.	"corrupted soul"

It is difficult to say without special research how systematically the vision of the poet is expressed in the above categories. It is clear that in these oppositions lie the essential dramatic problem of duality, which is central to the author's consciousness. In the plot

of "Progulka" this duality is inherent in the impossibility of creating the *poema*, which is replaced with a prose tale. This choice itself is connected to a definite understanding of the place of the narrator in the narration. In this regard a question arises as to the structure of the prose narrator: is he a "scribe" or a "poet"? If adequate reality for a *lirnyk* (poet) is the reality of the "duma" ("heroic poem"), for a scribe it would be that of the prose tale.[20] It should be added that the adequate structure of the narrator in prose is the structure of a "diary." For Ševčenko reality in prose is measured by diaristic reality. The theme of "prose" versus "poetry" in "Progulka" is singled out from the point of view of the narrator. Poetry lies, unrealized, under a layer of prose. One may see the stylistic expression of this phenomenon on the level of plot narration in many of Ševčenko's tales.

THE NARRATOR AND HIS HERO

I would like to touch on one final question—that of the correlation between the narrator and his characters, or, in more general terms, the narrator and the hero. I should mention here that I do not intend to examine the question of the artistic nature of "fictitious" characters, or those prototypes in Ševčenko's tales who are more or less autobiographical, synthesized, or used for portraits. Nevertheless the very nature of the "hero" of artistic works in Ševčenko is shifted slightly from the traditional place of such a hero with regard to the narrator.

This is most noticeable in "Progulka." In this particular story there is a multitude of characters who, in the words of Kodacka, "are perceived as literary heroes, born exclusively of the author's fantasy" (168), which for her is an argument against the autobiographical features of the "artistic" in Ševčenko's tales. The point

[20] The "heroic *poema*" which the narrator wants to write seeks its source in the *dumy*. Thus the intention here is to create a national epic poetry (cf. the meditation in the tale on the epic poetry of different nations, and the juxtaposition of Homer and the *dumy*). The unwritten "heroic *poema*" represents the new aspect of a national-biographical theme in the stance of the narrator. Instead of a *poema*, a prosaic plot appears which, in conventional terms, is very close to the plot of Gogol's "Nevskij prospekt," with its focus on profaned beauty and its two protagonists: an artist and a trivial voluptuary-officer. This prosaic plot overshadows the initially conceived plot of the *poema*. What becomes relevant is not a similarity with "Nevskij prospekt" but the very juxtaposition of the written and the unwritten, that is, the conceived and the realized. At this point the very role of an artist is being changed.

here, though, is that all the characters of this tale lie in the field of the narrator's vision. They are, so to speak, the heroes of his biographical reality. The latter is the most relevant in "Progulka." The narrator here not only observes, describes and comments on the plot, and even participates in it, but he is also the center of his own narration, the hero towards whom the plot is oriented. The narrator takes up almost more space in the narration than his characters. He even has his own separate "plots" (for instance, the whole story with Troxim). Finally, the plot itself to a certain extent forms the artistic reality of the narrator's plot within his theme: how should his reality be realized artistically? As poetic reality or prosaic? And the final decision is determined not only by the nature of described reality but also by the self-realization of the narrator's consciousness.

One can say the same about other tales of Ševčenko, such as "Xudožnik." It is not relevant here that it is considered his most autobiographical tale, because such a statement is "accidental" with regard to the inner structure ("accidental" in that the autobiographical features of this particular tale can be traced and documented more easily). It is precisely the temptation of easily documented autobiographical material which nonplusses the critics of this tale, since the fate of its autobiographical hero (death) cannot be superimposed on the fate of the author himself. This fate is interpreted as a generalization, and comments on it are given in the same general way: "the tragic fate of talented people from the lower classes" (Kodacka, 118). There is no reason to argue with such a statement as theme in the literature or in Ševčenko's own works. But such commentary is obviously oriented towards general literary tradition (Pavlov, Pogodin, etc.). At the same time, in "Xudožnik," the question is posed more directly and nearer to the tragedy of consciousness of the author himself, to the plane of the narrator in his individuality.

Essentially, the tale is constructed as parallels of two artists: the hero and Karl Brjullov. The parallel of Brjullov is given special emphasis in relation to the fate of the artist-serf, and it has not only thematic significance for the artist-serf of the very figure of Brjullov, but also constitutes a compositional parallel: the failed marriage of Brjullov and the tragic marriage of the hero; or, another parallel, just after the narration of the hero's death has ended: "The unforgettable Karl the Great was already dying in Rome" (IV, 426). This is the last sentence of the tale. The

epithet here indicates the temporal distance between the narrator and the events he describes (for Ševčenko it became a stable epithet in his recollections of Brjullov—cf. the *Diary*, V, 32). There are even more direct hints at this distance:

Далеко, очень далеко от порядочного или цивилизованного общества, в захолустьи, почти необитаемом, досталось мне случайно прозябать довольно не короткое время. (IV, 236)

This quotation is followed by a detailed description (within the framework of a moralistic digression) of a beautiful woman, "intelligent, modest, and even well-read" (IV, 236), who once charmed the narrator. But, as was soon discovered, her charm was only a mask. The same situation can be seen in the plot of "Progulka" (IV, 265–66), in the description of the narrator's "cousin." Here we face a motif which travels from plot to plot and identifies the narrator as a constant, always himself. In "Xudožnik" this narrator, to whom documents attribute the traits of the artist Sosčenko, is in fact the same autobiographical narrator of Ševčenko's prose and the *Diary*. The plot is unable to mask him, and many instances exist of the direct violation of this convention.

But there is an additional narrator in the tale—the hero himself, whose fate is usually identified with the fate and personality of the author. Analyses of stylistic level will not show us the differences in the character of narration of these two narrators. Thus we find the narrator dispersed, split into two plot figures (a feature peculiar to Ševčenko's narrative).[21] Finally it is this dispersion in the narrator's structure which allows for the creation of the narrative plot on the basis of the material which could justly be considered the reality of the author's consciousness. In other words, the plot of the tale is born from the theme of the artist's consciousness (the potential artist) through the splitting of the narrator's whole into narrator and hero.

This theme of the artist's consciousness manifests itself on the plot level in the fact that both hero and narrator are unrealized artists. The theme of Brjullov, the artist who did realize himself, is

[21] Cf. the analysis of *Trizna* by G. Grabowicz, "The Nexus of the Wake: Ševčenko's *Trizna*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3/4, pt. 1 (1979–80): 320–47, with its general résumé: "*Trizna*, in short, illustrates much more overtly then do Ševčenko's other long poems the operation of a characteristic system of identifications where ostensibly autonomous characters and voices are in fact fragments or projections of the poet's ego" (p. 333).

given in contrast. This, as I see it, marks the main compositional relevance of Brjullov in the tale.

The theme of the unrealized artist, in my understanding, does not assume the social implications in the framework of which the hero of this tale is usually interpreted. The text of the tale gives us enough examples showing that the tragic flow of the hero's fate is not primarily determined by social conditions or circumstances. The hero is "the favorite pupil and friend of Brjullov." About himself he writes: "Whatever I conceive, whatever I want—I succeed in everything. Everyone loves me, everyone welcomes me . . ." (IV, 266). The narrator says about the hero: "My friend foolishly, amazingly foolishly considered his future" (IV, 242). There are strange slips of the tongue which slightly reveal but do not fully explain the paths of his tragic fate:

> Несмотря однако ж на всю полноту моего счастия, мне иногда бывает так невыносимо грустно, что я не знаю, куда укрыться от этой гнетущей тоски. (IV, 227)

I see other connections and implications of the hero's fate, not social, nor traditional (with reference to literature), but biographical, lying in the essence of Ševčenko's consciousness and described in the *Diary*:

> Самому теперь не верится, а действительно так было. Я из грязного чердака, я, ничтожный замарашка, на крылья[х] перелетел в волшебные залы сказать, Академии художеств. Но чем же я хвалюся? Чем я доказал, что я пользовался наставлениями и дружеской доверенностью величайшего художника в мире? Совершенно ничем. До его неуместной женитьбы, и после уместного развода, я жил у него на квартире, или, лучше сказать, в его мастерской. И что же я делал? Чем занимался я в этом святилище? Странно подумать. Я занимался тогда сочинением малороссийских стихов, которые впоследствии упали такой страшной тяжестью на мою убогую душу. Перед его дивными произведениями я задумывался и лелеял в своем сердце своего слепца Кобзаря и своих кровожадных гайдамаков. В тени его изящно-роскошной мастерской, как в знойной дикой степи на[д]днепровской, передо мною мелькали мученические тени наших бедных гетманов. Передо мной расстилалася степь, усеянная курганами. Передо мной красовалась моя прекрасная, моя бедная Украина во всей непорочной меланхолической красоте своей. И я задумывался, я не мог отвести своих духовных очей от этой родной чарующей прелести. Призвание, и ничего больше. (V, 43)

Without going further into analyses of "The Artist," which has not been the task of this article, I note only what concerns our topic: all riddles and keys of the narrative plot lie in the world of the narrator, which is not only completely autobiographical but also

transfers conflicts of his biographical world into the plot of the prose narrative. The world of the narrator defines the place of characters in Ševčenko's tales, either as identified with the narrator or as subordinated to him. The stance of the narrator always dominates Ševčenko's prose.

Harvard University

Soviet Jewish Territorial Units and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations

ALLAN L. KAGEDAN

Western studies of Soviet nationalities have focused either on the history of a particular nationality, or on the central Soviet government's policy toward one or more nationalities. Both approaches are fruitful. Yet neither a nationality's cultural development nor its relations with the central Soviet government can be understood without considering a third dimension, that is, relations between nationalities linked to one another by history and geography. Those who have studied nationality relations have focused on conflict situations between ethnic groups, which has limited discernment of the causes of tension and the sources of accommodation between the groups.

Writings about Jews and Ukrainians in the Soviet period fit this pattern. In 1926, 60 percent of Soviet Jews lived in the Ukrainian SSR, among Ukrainians.[1] Studies of these demographically contiguous groups either treat them in isolation[2] or stress instances of crisis between them.[3] Efforts to probe broader contours of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in the Soviet era have recently begun.[4] One historical episode that may shed light on relations between Jews and Ukrainians was the Soviet government's plan to form Jewish territorial units in the Ukraine, and elsewhere, in the 1920s and 1930s. The formation of these units brought about confrontation as well as eventual accommodation between Ukrainians and Jews. The negative stereotypes each group held about the other

[1] *Natsional'naia politika v tsifrakh* (Moscow, 1930), pp. 36, 46.

[2] Examples are Lionel Kochan, ed., *The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1978), and Robert Sullivant, *Soviet Politics in the Ukraine* (New York, 1962).

[3] See the exchange between Taras Hunczak, "A Reappraisal of Symon Petliura and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, 1917–1921," and Zosa Szajkowski, "A Reappraisal of Symon Petliura and Ukrainian-Jewish Relations, 1917–1921: A Rebuttal," in *Jewish Social Studies* 31, no. 3 (1969): 163–218.

[4] Mordekhai Altshuler, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in the Soviet Milieu in the Interwar Period," paper presented at the McMaster Conference on Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective, 17–20 October 1983, Hamilton, Ontario.

contributed to the crisis, but they were not its cause. The chief factor behind Jewish-Ukrainian conflict over territorial units was the clash of group political interests produced by the Soviet system.

Jewish colonization in the Ukraine began in the nineteenth century. Having received complaints about how Jews allegedly exploited peasants, the Russian government in 1804 decreed that by 1 January 1807, Jews in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and other areas must relinquish their leases on inns and taverns on noble estates.[5] The Russian government offered displaced Jews two options: residence in towns, or farming. The area chosen by the tsarist regime for colonization by Jews was the southern Ukraine. By 1810, that area's Jewish agricultural population numbered 9,757.[6] Thereafter, the Russian government practiced an ambiguous policy regarding Jewish farming, alternatively promoting and prohibiting settlement. Nicholas I tried to induce Jews to farm by exempting Jewish farmers from military service and certain taxes. On the other hand, following the pogroms of 1881, Alexander III prohibited Jews from taking up farming, on the strength of allegations that Jews had disrupted village life and brought the pogroms on themselves.[7] Nonetheless, by 1897, a total of 58,881 Jews lived in agricultural colonies located in the Ukraine.

On 21 March 1917, the Provisional Government, headed by Prince Georgii E. L'vov and later by Alexander Kerenskii, lifted prohibitions against agricultural settlement.[8] The Bolshevik seizure of power in November, followed by the onset of civil war, famine, and pogroms, deterred further Jewish colonization. From 1916 to 1922, the Jewish farming population of the southern Ukraine declined by 24 percent, from 39,025 to 29,612.[9] The famine of 1921 struck hard at the Volga Basin, the Kuban, and the southern Ukraine, leaving an estimated 22 million people hungry.[10] It did not

[5] S. Ia. Borovoi, *Evreiskaia zemledel'cheskaia kolonizatsiia v staroi Rossii* (Moscow, 1928), pp. 27–28.

[6] Borovoi, *Evreiskaia kolonizatsiia*, pp. 44, 48.

[7] Borovoi, *Evreiskaia kolonizatsiia*, pp. 122–27.

[8] Salo Baron, *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York, 1964), p. 201.

[9] S.E. Liubarskii, "Rabota Amerikanskogo evreiskogo ob"edinennogo raspredelitel'nogo komiteta Dzhoint i Evreiskogo kolonizatsionnogo obshchestva v iuzhnykh evreiskikh zemledel'cheskikh koloniiakh i prilegaiushchikh seleniiakh," in "Otchet agronomicheskoi organizatsii Dzhoint i EKO za 1928 god," Joseph Rosen Archive (YIVO Institute, New York), file 139, p. 5.

[10] Edward Hallet Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–23*, 3 vols. (London), 2 (1952):285.

spare the Jewish colonists of the Ukraine: In Mykolaiv province, for instance, 75 percent of Jewish colonists in 1922 lacked food.[11] Once famine and internal strife had abated, Jews reasserted their interest in colonization. From 1922 to 1924, the number of Jews in the south Ukrainian colonies jumped to 43,890. Initially, established Jewish colonies welcomed incoming migrants, for they were needed to compensate for labor shortages caused by the events of 1917–1922.[12] Between the summer of 1923 and February 1924, we know that 1,067 Jews settled in these colonies.[13] The manpower requirements of the older colonies were filled quickly, however, and Jews began to seek new lands for settlement.

At this point, tensions between Ukrainians and Jews arose. Two issues fueled the confrontation: the immediate, practical issue of competition for land, which was central to both groups; and the far-ranging question of the political aims of Jewish colonization, which was a subject for debate by Jewish and Ukrainian leaders.

The contest for land hinged on the economic needs of both groups. Russian Jews worked principally in two economic sectors: artisanry and petty trade. Under "War Communism" (1918–1920), the Soviet government fixed prices for leather and cotton goods, thus reducing the income of Jewish artisans, who were concentrated in the shoemaking and tailoring trades. War Communism also hurt Jewish petty traders by requisitioning goods and fixing prices on their wares. The New Economic Policy (NEP), initiated in 1921, lifted some restrictions on commerce, but regulations ensured that state trade grew rapidly at the expense of private trade. If in 1923–24 private traders controlled 22 percent of the wholesale trade, by 1925–26 they retained only 9 percent of it.[14]

Soviet economic policies had a profound impact on the Jewish population, as the case of Zhytomyr, a town 85 miles west of Kiev, illustrates: in 1926 Zhytomyr had a population of 68,280, of which 39.2 percent was Jewish. In 1922, 72 percent of the town's Jewish shoemakers were unemployed, as were 78 percent of its Jewish tailors. NEP failed to improve their lot. These unemployed Jews,

[11] "Der Idgezkom un di kolonies," *Emes* (Moscow), 16 March 1924, p. 3.
[12] P. N., "Tsvishn idisher ibervanderer," *Emes*, 16 March 1924, p. 3.
[13] E. M. Khaikin, "Razvitie sel'skokhoziastvennogo promysla sredi evreev v SSSR," Joseph Rosen Archive (YIVO Institute, New York), file 143, p. 58.
[14] I. Rubinov, *Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia* (New York: Anno reprint, 1975), p. 500. Carr, *Bolshevik Revolution*, 2:232; and E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, vol. 1 (London, 1958), p. 424.

many of whom were destitute, were attracted to the farmlands of the Ukraine.[15]

Legal decrees, intended to discourage private commerce, also penalized Jews. By 1925–26, 82 percent of Jews in Ukrainian cities had fallen into the category of *lishentsy*, that is, the disenfranchised.[16] Soviet regulations deprived these petty traders and artisans of the right to vote, discriminated against them in food distribution, and denied them equal access to medical attention.[17] Since they were now punished for pursuing their traditional occupations, many Jews regarded agricultural work as an economic necessity.

From the Ukrainian public's perspective, the Ukraine's farmlands, already beset by agricultural overpopulation, could not sustain a large Jewish influx. Ukrainian officials warned that the local population would take offense at Jews settling in the Ukraine while Ukrainians were sent to the Far East to acquire farmland.[18]

On occasion, Ukrainian peasants expressed their hostility toward Jewish colonists violently. In one instance, peasants in the Mariupol' (today Zhdanov) region arrived at a Jewish settlement with sickles, and attempted to seize part of the colony's harvest. The Jewish farmers resisted, and a melee ensued.[19] The situation led observers to recommend that Jews form only large settlements that would be less vulnerable.[20] By the same token, local Russian and Ukrainian officials in the Ukraine turned away Jewish applicants for land grants, saying that "their fathers were not farmers" and claiming that "all Jews are speculators."[21]

[15] *Bol'shaia sovetskaia èntsiklopediia* (hereafter *BSE*), 1st ed., s.v. "Zhitomir." *Emes*, 17 October 1922, p. 3. American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archive, Agro-Joint file 482.

[16] *BSE*, s.v. "Evrei."

[17] James Rosenberg to Felix Warburg, 7 October 1926, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archive, Agro-Joint file 509.

[18] Vsesoiuznyi tsentral'nyi ispol'nitelnyi komitet SSSR (hereafter VTsIK), *Stenograficheskii otchet*, 12–25 April 1925, p. 490. N. N. Popov, *Narys istorii Komunistychnoi partii (Bil'shovykiv) Ukrainy* (Kharkiv, 1928), p. 289. Andrii Khvylia, *Do rozv''iazannia natsional'nogo pytannia na Ukraini* (Kharkiv, 1930).

[19] Oleksander Mytsiuk, *Agraryzatsiia Zhydivstva Ukrainy* (Prague, 1932), pp. 151–52.

[20] Khaikin, "Razvitie promysla," p. 79.

[21] "Vegn di rekht fun di idishe erd arbeter-kolektivn," *Emes*, 10 October 1923, p. 3.

What was the reason for the agricultural overpopulation? In 1926, the population of the Ukrainian SSR stood at 28,887,000, of whom 23,621,000 persons tilled the soil.[22] The rural population on the left and right banks of the Dnieper River numbered 15,058,000, of whom all but 520,000 farmed.[23] A writer on the question of agricultural overpopulation placed the number of "excess" persons in the Ukrainian SSR at 1,578,000.[24] The southern Ukraine had a rural population of 7,081,000, including 270,000 non-farmers.

Some Soviet leaders recognized that overpopulation is a complex issue, and that it was folly to speak of an absolute maximum number of persons for a given plot of land. Proper irrigation, or other methods of reclamation, can enhance the productivity of land, enabling it to support a larger population. Furthermore, the introduction of labor-intensive industry into a region can eliminate labor surplus. In the Ukrainian SSR, moreover, overpopulation was uneven, affecting more, rather than less, developed agricultural areas, such as the southern Ukraine.[25]

Had they wished to, Soviet leaders could have solved the overpopulation problem without recourse to migration, by investing in land reclamation or industry. The decision to promote the migration of Ukrainians and others to the Far East stemmed not from a concern for their economic well-being, but from the desire to populate the area for reasons of national security.[26] The overpopulation of Ukrainians in the Ukraine provided the Soviet regime with a rationale for locating Ukrainians outside their republic—but the rationale was undercut by Soviet consent to Jewish colonization in the Ukraine.

Of course, traditional tensions between Ukrainians and Jews encouraged disagreement over Jewish settlement. Yet it was Bolshevik policy that drove Jews to seek farmland claimed also by Ukrainians who wanted to stay in their republic.

22 L. E. Mints, *Agrarnoe perenaselenie i rynok truda SSSR* (Moscow, 1929), p. 466.

23 Mints, *Agrarnoe perenaselenie*, p. 251.

24 Mints, *Agrarnoe perenaselenie*, p. 271.

25 E. H. Carr and R. W. Davies, *Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926–1929*, 3 vols. (London, 1969), 1, pt. 1:925–26.

26 Carr and Davies, *Foundations of a Planned Economy*, 1, pt. 1:926–27. XV Konferentsiia Vsesoiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (b), *Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow, 1927), pp. 249–54.

Longer-range political friction between Jewish and Ukrainian leaders developed in 1924, when the Soviet government decided to endorse the program of Jewish colonization. The Soviet regime established two agencies to oversee Jewish settlement: the Commission for the Rural Placement of Jewish Toilers, or KOMZET; and the Association for the Rural Placement of Jewish Toilers, or OZET. KOMZET announced that it would seek to settle Jews in a "compact mass," a form appropriate for the creation of a Jewish territorial unit.[27]

In the Soviet system, the rights of a nationality depend upon the status of the territory in which that particular ethnic group lives as a compact mass. According to the Constitution of 1924, the Soviet Union is a voluntary union of Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs), each empowered to secede from the federation. An SSR is thus, by law, the highest type of territorial unit. In theory, each SSR may conduct its own foreign relations, live under its own constitution, and convene a supreme court.[28] In fact, these are paper rights: never in Soviet history has an SSR seceded or conducted an independent foreign policy. Nonetheless, the constitutional status of an SSR, particularly in the early years of the Soviet Union's formation, seemed to promise advantages for the titular nationality group.

Below the SSRs came other "autonomous" territorial units, that is, Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (ASSRs) and Autonomous Oblasts (AOs). Following these came "administrative units" with no constitutional political rights, such as the *krai*, which encompassed geographically smaller *raiony*, or districts. The raion was responsible for local administration and did not have the right to representation in central "elective" bodies.[29]

Soviet Jews, seeking equality with other groups, naturally aspired to a Jewish SSR. Jewish colonies would provide the compact population necessary for its establishment. Proponents of an SSR or another autonomous unit for Jews first directed their attention to the southern Ukraine because this region alone had an established Jewish farming population.

27 Iu. V. Gol'de, *Zemlenoe ustroistvo trudiashchikhsiia evreev* (Moscow, 1925), pp. 29, 66–74.
28 D. Zlatopolsky, *State System of the USSR* (Moscow, 1961), p. 127.
29 Zlatopolsky, *State System*, p. 174.

In 1924, Abram Bragin and Mikhail Kol'tsov, two Jews who worked in the Soviet government, published a book entitled *The Destiny of the Jewish Masses in the Soviet Union.*[30] It argued for the formation of a Jewish territorial unit in the southern Ukraine, the northern Crimea, and the northern Caucasus. Both Bragin and Kol'tsov were Ukrainian Jews. In his youth, Bragin had been a member of *Tseirei Tsion*, a Zionist group. After graduating from Kiev University's law school, he became a specialist in agricultural policy.[31] Bragin, a leading advocate for the establishment of a Jewish SSR, was not a member of the Communist party. Mikhail Kol'tsov, a contributor on Jewish affairs to the press in the Ukraine before 1921, joined the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in the early 1920s. Kol'tsov would become one of the Soviet Union's leading satirical writers and a frequent contributor to *Pravda* in the 1930s.

KOMZET, the supervisory body for Jewish colonization, never proposed the creation of a Jewish SSR publicly. But KOMZET's 1924 settlement program, which focused on the southern Ukraine, lent credence to the possibility of a Jewish unit there. Its 1925 program called for the settlement of 3,000 Jewish families in the southern Ukraine and 1,000 in the Crimea.[32]

Indeed, the southern Ukraine had by far the largest concentration of Jewish farmers. In early 1925, before KOMZET had begun operations, 100,000 Jews farmed in the USSR. Jewish farmers in Belorussia and the western provinces of the RSFSR numbered 30,000. In the Ukrainian SSR, 69,000 Jews farmed: 15,000 on the right bank of the Dnieper; 36,000 in colonies in the southern Ukraine; and 18,000 elsewhere in the Ukraine. KOMZET was particularly interested in Jews already living in agricultural colonies, whose example future colonists could follow. Figures for 1924 indicate that the Kherson and Mykolaiv regions had the largest number of colonists—20,794. Next come Kryvyj Rih with 7,290, Huliaipole with 3,860, and Mariupol' with 3,090. Finally, a smaller

30 Abram Bragin and Mikhail Kol'tsov, *Sud'ba evreiskikh mass v Sovetskom Soiuze* (Moscow, 1924), p. 20.

31 *BSE*, 1st ed., s.v. "Bragin."

32 *BSE*, 1st ed., s.v. "Kol'tsov." Michael Kitaeff, *Communist Party Officials* (New York, 1954), pp. 88–93. Gol'de, *Zemlenoe ustroistvo*, p. 86.

number of Jewish colonists—2,000—lived in the Crimean ASSR.[33]

The Ukrainian SSR's leaders objected strenuously to the notion of a Jewish SSR located partly on their SSR's territory. The protests were so forceful, according to one observer, that they threatened to derail plans to form KOMZET. Protest waned only after a KOMZET official had assured officials in Moscow and Kharkiv that Bragin's views would not form KOMZET policy.[34]

Officials of the Soviet central government and KOMZET leaders made extensive Jewish agricultural settlement a necessary condition for the formation of a Jewish territorial unit. Because Jews lived predominantly in urban rather than rural areas, this requirement made the creation of a Jewish unit unlikely. There seem to have been two reasons for the stipulation of agricultural settlement—not only for Jews, but for other groups. First, the city was the locus of political power in Soviet society; the party and government bureaucracies operated in urban settings. To designate a city as "Jewish," or assign it to any particular ethnic group, could lead that group to claim privileges in staffing these institutions. As long as Jews were farmers, the local administrative positions, located in towns, remained in Russian hands. Second, Soviet nationality policy dictated that the city would be the site of ethnic blending, that is, the loss of ethnic identity. Modern, industrialized urban life, Soviet leaders believed, would burn away the dross of ethnic chauvinism.[35]

Ukrainian leaders said little publicly about Jewish colonization, perhaps because they feared that airing differences with the central government would be interpreted by Moscow as a breach of "democratic centralism." The few comments that Ukrainian SSR officials did make about Jewish colonization, however, reveal their concerns.

The creation of a Jewish territorial unit, Ukrainian officials argued, would weaken the Soviet regime. At a Soviet-wide Central Executive Committee (CEC) meeting in April 1926, Vlas Chubar said that the Ukrainian government was often asked what further practical measures it would undertake to promote nationality policy, specifically, whether the government would create "a Jewish republic on Ukrainian territory," or a Greek republic, or a Bulgarian

[33] Gol'de, *Zemlenoe ustroistvo*, p. 9.

[34] Iu. Gol'de, "A bletl geshikhte," *Emes*, 29 August 1929, p. 3.

[35] *Emes*, 8 July 1921, p. 2. Mikhail I. Kalinin, "Chto delaet sovetskaia vlast' dlia osushchestvleniia demokratii," *Novyi mir*, October 1926, p. 115.

republic. Chubar was exaggerating, because a Greek republic in the Ukraine was never contemplated, but the comment emphasizes his concern over a Jewish SSR or ASSR. Specifically, the Ukrainian leader, using a Marxist formulation, argued that new ethnic republics would divide workers from one another, exaggerate the differences between them, and hinder the development of socialism.[36]

What Chubar meant was that the creation of a Jewish republic would weaken the potential for success of Ukrainian irredentism, that is, the efforts of the Ukrainian SSR to incorporate ethnically Ukrainian regions of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. If the Soviet government won the support of Ukrainians inside and outside of the USSR, Chubar maintained, the Soviet Ukrainian people would overcome the "artificial" borders with their fellow Ukrainians in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, and would bring them into a larger Soviet Ukraine. If Moscow divided the Ukraine, all Ukrainians would object, and the borders around the Soviet Ukraine would endure.[37]

Another factor behind the Ukrainian SSR's protest was the fear that creation of a Jewish territorial unit would diminish the Ukraine's political stature. If a Jewish SSR were formed, Ukrainian territory would shrink. The truncation of the Ukraine through the formation of a Moldavian ASSR in 1924 had set such a precedent. In the course of World War I and the revolutions of 1917, Russia lost to Romania the territory known as Bessarabia. Eager to reacquire the territory, the Soviet Russian government proposed that a plebiscite be held there on rejoining the Russian state, but the Romanians refused. When negotiations reached a standstill, in October 1924, the Soviet government decided to form a Moldavian ASSR, named for the major ethnic group in Bessarabia, in order to legitimize Soviet claims to the territory.[38] This new ASSR was located on territory that had formally been part of the Ukrainian

[36] VTsIK, *Stenograficheskii otchet*, 16 April 1926, pp. 398–99.
[37] VTsIK, *Stenograficheskii otchet*, 12–25 April 1925, pp. 157, 408–409.
[38] George Ciorianesco et al., *Aspects des Relations Russo-Roumaines* (Paris, 1967), pp. 89–132. Nicholas Dima, *Bessarabia and Bukovina: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute* (New York, 1982).

SSR. In 1940, the Moldavian ASSR would be upgraded to SSR status.[39]

The sensitivity of the Ukrainian SSR's officials to redivisions of their territory was also clear from their reaction to a central government scheme to divide the Ukraine into two economic oblasts. Ukrainian officials feared that these new units would be outside their control and responsible directly to Moscow. Like the Moldavian SSR or the projected Jewish unit, the economic oblasts could diminish the Ukrainian SSR's control over its territory.[40] If the Jewish unit acquired the status of an ASSR or oblast itself, the Ukrainian government's standing relative to Moscow would decline. At play here were inter-Soviet politics, not anti-Jewish feeling.

Another issue dividing Ukrainians and Jews, one not linked directly to colonization, was Ukrainization—the program to place Ukrainians in the Soviet government, management of industry, and the professions, as well as in the urban proletariat and institutions of higher education. This new Ukrainian elite, it was hoped, would develop Ukrainian culture and authority within the USSR. A key to the program's success lay in bolstering the presence of ethnic Ukrainians in the cities of the Soviet Ukraine, for, as mentioned, government offices, intellectual life, and even factories were centered there. Indeed, in 1929, on the occasion of the Ukrainization of Odessa's periodical *Izvestiia*, now called *Chornomors'ka komuna*, Mykola Skrypnyk commented that a city which a decade earlier did "not belong to the Ukraine" was becoming Ukrainized.[41]

The program of Ukrainization was linked with the idea of creating a Jewish ASSR by Iurii Larin, who has been called the "most vocal critic of Ukrainization" in the mid-1920s.[42] Larin's personal background distinguished him from the majority of Soviet Jews, who spoke Yiddish. The son of a government-appointed rabbi—that is, a clergyman who accepted the notion that Jews should be "enlightened" and learn modern languages—Larin spoke Russian and in his youth joined a Zionist group, *Khovevei Zion*, popular among acculturated young Jews seeking a modern Jewish identity. Later Larin joined the Menshevik faction of the Russian Social

[39] Walter Kolarz, *Russia and Her Colonies* (New York, 1952), p. 149ff.

[40] VTsIK, *Stenograficheskii otchet*, 12–25 April 1925, p. 403.

[41] James E. Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), p. 212.

[42] Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas*, p. 98.

Democratic Labor Party, and remained with it until 1917. A gifted thinker and writer, Larin was a member of the early Bolshevik "brain trust," and represented Russia at the 1922 foreign economic conference in Genoa. He drafted many of the regulations instituted during the period known as "War Communism" (1917–1920). In 1925, Larin was appointed chairman of OZET, a position he held until his death in 1932.[43]

Larin championed the notion that Jews had a right to an ASSR or SSR. He sharply criticized "Jewish chauvinists" who, he claimed, coerced Russian-speaking Jews into sending their children to Yiddish-language schools. Similarly, he chided proponents of Ukrainization for alleged "excesses" in forcing the Ukrainian language on Russian-speaking Ukrainians. At issue here was not animus toward Ukrainians—or towards Jews—but a conviction that once an individual had learned Russian, the standard language of public discourse in the Soviet Union, it was reactionary to force that person to relearn his ethnic language. Following Marxist thought, Larin believed that ethnic sentiment would diminish as history advanced. At the same time, he argued that Jews—indeed, any nationality—had a right to their own autonomous territorial unit. But as a true believer in Marxist doctrine, Larin felt that autonomy had to be exercised within rather narrow boundaries. It should never be allowed to obstruct "progress."[44]

Larin's criticism of Ukrainization stemmed from personal conviction, but it touched a raw nerve among Ukrainians. They knew that socially mobile Jews tended to find the dominant Russian-language culture more attractive than Ukrainian-language culture. Ukrainian officials feared that the Russification of Jews concentrated in the cities of the Ukrainian SSR would deal a blow to Ukrainization.[45]

[43] Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas*, p. 98, fn. 32. *BSE*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Larin." Dan Pines, "Larin," *Davaar*, February 1932, p. 12. Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York, 1974), p. 352. Yitskhak Rabinovitch, session 5, p. 01500, Oral History Division, Centre for Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University. Carr, *Bolshevik Revolution*, 2:86–88.

[44] Iurii Larin, "Ob izvrashcheniiakh pri provedenii natstional'noi politiki," *Bolshevik*, 31 December 1926, pp. 51–2. Iurii Larin, *Evrei i antisemitizm v SSSR* (Moscow, 1929), pp. 308–310.

[45] *Natsional'naia politika VKP(b) v tsifrakh* (Moscow, 1930), pp. 44–45.

The program of colonizing Jews in the southern Ukraine, and the notion of forming a Jewish territorial unit there, thus provoked antagonism between Jews and Ukrainians. Tension arose because of the Soviet system, which tied ethnic rights to territories having different status and in which status and associated rights were never completely secure. Indeed, the system's structure guaranteed that one group's gain would be seen as another's loss.

Ukrainian and Jewish officials acted to defuse the tension over Jewish colonization. As early as 1924, the Soviet Ukrainian government promised to undertake "energetic work" to designate "ethnic administrative units" of a low stature, not threatening the status of the SSR. By 1927, it had created 23 ethnic districts, assigning ethnic Russians nine districts, Germans eight, Bulgarians three, Greeks two, and Poles one.[46] By 1930, three Jewish districts (*raiony*) functioned in the Ukraine. These were Kalinindorf (Kherson), founded in 1927; Novozlatopol' (Zaporizhzhia), in 1929; and Stalindorf (Kryvyj Rih), in 1930.[47]

On the Jewish side, Iurii Larin moderated his criticism of the Ukrainization program in general and the Ukrainian SSR's treatment of ethnic minorities in particular. He stated in 1926 that complaints by minorities against the SSR had declined by 80 percent.[48] KOMZET formed a branch in the Ukrainian SSR called Ukomzet, and named the Ukrainian SSR Commissar for Land Affairs, Iakym M. Dudnyk, its head. Furthermore, Jewish leaders began to direct their attention on another site for a Jewish territorial unit, the northern Crimea.[49]

What made the northern Crimea attractive? Before 1917, much of the land there, as in the southern Ukraine, had been owned by large-scale landowners, who fled their plots as revolution neared. Other lands in the northern Crimea had escaped cultivation because they required irrigation. Thus, land for new settlement was available there. The northern Crimea resembled the southern Ukraine in its attractiveness to Jews in two more ways: its propinquity to the large centers of Jewish population in the northwestern USSR, and its use by the Zionist group Hekhalutz as a training ground for

46 "Sakhaklen fun der arbet tsvishn di natsminderheytn in Ukraine," *Emes*, 7 August 1927, p. 3.

47 *Administrativno-territorial'noe delenie soiuznykh respublik* (Moscow, 1938), pp. 148–49, 124, 156.

48 VTsIK, *Stenograficheskii otchet*, 16 April 1926, p. 459.

49 "Geshaln an alukrainishn 'Komerd,'" *Emes*, 13 June 1926, p. 1.

eventual migration to Palestine, which meant that Jewish colonies were already in operation there. Jewish settlement in the Crimea, however, would provoke problems with the leadership of the Crimean ASSR even more intractable than those that had arisen with officials of the Ukrainian SSR.[50]

Once the political difficulties were resolved, the program for Jewish agricultural settlement in the Ukrainian SSR produced mixed results. By 1931 there were 1,791,000 Ukrainian Jews, of whom 172,000 (9.6 percent) farmed. Of these, 81,500 (47 percent) lived in kolkhozes close to towns where they had formerly resided; 13,550 (8 percent) lived near other cities; 40,000 (23 percent) lived on colonies formed before Soviet-sponsored colonization; and 37,000 (22 percent) lived in colonies established under Soviet rule. By 1933, the number of Jews engaged in agriculture had climbed to 186,000; no statistics indicating the source of the increase are available.[51]

Forced collectivization of agriculture and the 1933 famine engineered by the central Soviet government crippled the program of settling Jews on the land. Figures from the Crimea, for instance, show that 41 percent of Jewish colonists arriving in 1930 decided to depart by 1931.[52] Although the program for Jewish agricultural settlement was implemented to assist the disenfranchised, any colony harboring even a few Jews still deemed disenfranchised faced summary liquidation.[53] By the same token, Jews classified as kulaks for continuing to practice commerce in the initial stages of farming suffered confiscation of property and deportation.[54] Not only did collectivization and famine lead many Jews to abandon the colonies—as evidenced by the party's desperate attempts to recruit Jews in the Smolensk region to counteract "depopulation" of the

[50] *Pervyi vsesoiuznyi s"ezd OZET v Moskve*, 15–20 November 1926 (Moscow). *Stenograficheskii otchet*, pp. 63–65. Dan Pines, *Hekhalutz be-Kur Ha-mahapekha* (Tel-Aviv, 1938), p. 55.

[51] Yakov Kantor, *Natsional'noe stroitel'stvo sredi evreev v SSSR* (Moscow, 1934), pp. 134–35.

[52] "O sostoianii severo-evpatoriiskikh poselkov k kontsu 1931 goda," Rosen Archive, file 227, p. 1245.

[53] Yakov Kantor, "Kolektivizirung fun di yidisher landvirtshflikher bafelkerung in Ukrayne," *Roite Velt*, April 1930, pp. 85–108.

[54] "O priznakakh kulatskikh khoziaistv, v kotorykh dolzhen primeniat'sia kodeks zakonov o trude" (21 May 1929), *Kollektivizatsiia sel'skogo khoziaistva* (Moscow, 1957), p. 163.

Jewish colonies—they doubtless deterred other Jews from agricultural settlement.[55]

Concurrently, the quality of relations between Ukrainians and Jews in the Jewish *raiony* was progressing from initial hostility to accommodation, in Larin's estimation.[56] Articles in the Soviet Yiddish-language press reported that local Ukrainian farmers' resentment of their Jewish neighbors abated quickly, and that the peasants soon admired the Jews' "industriousness." The peasants had never before seen Jewish farmers.[57] Another account relates that in 1936, Jewish colonists from Novozlatopol' (Zaporizhzhia) and Cossacks from the Tsimlianskaja station in the North Caucasus krai decided on economic cooperation.[58] This example of "friendship among peoples" was probably orchestrated by Soviet officials, but it seems fair to characterize relations between Jewish and Ukrainian settlements as peaceful.

What do the program to colonize Jews and the proposal to form a Jewish ASSR or SSR reveal about relations between Jews and Ukrainians in the Soviet system? What seems evident is that Soviet policies created the conditions for dispute between Jews and Ukrainians. Barred from practicing commerce, Jews looked to colonization in the southern Ukraine as an economic necessity. Jewish leaders, seeking equality for their group, proposed the formation of a Jewish territorial unit there, and in the adjacent northern Crimea. Ukrainian leaders, seeking to secure their own ethnic identity and rights through protecting and upgrading the status of the Ukrainian SSR, objected to these Jewish initiatives. In the Soviet system, which ties nationality—and indeed individual rights—to residence in a territorial unit, to "concede" any part of one's unit could diminish one's own rights. In effect, the Soviet system established a "zero-sum game," in which each nationality judged every other group's gain as its loss.

The Soviet government settled the dispute between Jews and Ukrainians by denying Jews an ASSR or SSR and granting them less significant territorial districts instead. This allowed for

55 Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas*, pp. 280–301. Merle Fainsod, *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 444.

56 Larin, *Evrei i antisemitizm*, pp. 140–66.

57 B. Sh., "Der tsushtand fun der idisher ibervanderung in Odeser Krayz," *Emes*, 2 November 1927, p. 4.

58 N. Gorfinkel, "Kazatsko-evreiskaia druzhba—iarkii primer krennushchei druzhby narodov," *Revoliutsiia i natsional'nosti*, July 1936, pp. 51–54.

accommodation between the two nationalities. But in certain respects, this solution was not beneficial to Jews or Ukrainians. In their search for a site for a Jewish ASSR or SSR, Jews turned from the Ukrainian SSR to the Crimean ASSR, thereby igniting conflict with yet another nationality fearful of losing its own rights. During the dispute, Ukrainian leaders had fallen prey to accusations of nationality "chauvinism," a charge that would return to haunt the Ukrainian leadership.

The contest between Jews and Ukrainians over colonization in the 1920s illustrates how the Soviet system perpetuates, and at times aggravates, tensions between nationalities. The Soviet system's capability for placing nationalities at odds with one another may constitute one of its principal means of retaining political strength.

The American Jewish Committee
New York

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Hussar: A Few Observations on Gogol's Characters and Their *Vertep* Prototype *

GAVRIEL SHAPIRO

A connection between the works of Gogol and the Ukrainian puppet theater (*vertep*) was established as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, by V. N. Peretts and A. P. Kadlubovskii.[1] A contemporary, V. A. Rozov, wrote the first detailed analysis of the various vertep types as prototypes for some of the characters in Gogol's early works.[2] Since the appearance of Rozov's publication, however, few scholars have sought out vertep prototypes in Gogol's early works and fewer still have looked for them in his later works. One vertep figure not mentioned by Rozov that may have served as a prototype for Gogol is the Hussar. Like the vertep Hussar, Gogol's characters swear and boast, pepper their speech with phrases in foreign languages, and sport large moustaches.

The personage of the vertep Hussar was first noted by the nineteenth-century connoisseur of the Ukrainian theater, H. P. Halahan (1819–1888). In his article "Malorusskii vertep," Halahan writes:

> На смену солдата является воин другого типа, в лице гусарина-венгерца. В вертепном представлении тип этот смешанный, не то мадьярский, не то сербский. . . . Гусарин начинает свою речь с какого-то мадьярского ругательства, смешанного с сербскими словами:

* I am grateful to Professor Olexa Horbatsch of the University of Frankfurt for a number of useful suggestions.

1 See V. N. Peretts, "Gogol' i malorusskaia literaturnaia traditsiia," in *N. V. Gogol', Rechi, posviashchennye ego pamiati. . .* (St. Petersburg, 1902), pp. 47–55; and A. P. Kadlubovskii, *Gogol' v ego otnosheniiakh k starinnoi malorusskoi literature* (Nizhyn, 1911).

2 V. A. Rozov, "Traditsionnye tipy malorusskogo teatra XVII–XVIII vv. i iunosheskie povesti N. V. Gogolia," in *Pamiati N. V. Gogolia* (Kiev, 1911), pp. 99–169.

Терентет басà, мàленька басà и вѐлко басà,
Мòя пòля, мòя вòда, мòе блàто, мое злàто,
Мое све. . . .[3]

Halahan suggests that the Hussar's speech begins with a Hungarian curse mixed with some Serbian words. Indeed, the first word of the Hussar's monologue—*terentet*—might be the distorted Hungarian exclamation *teremtette* (with its variant forms—*a teremtésit* and *teringette*). In fact *teremtette* is a short form for the expression *kutya teremtette*, which literally means "a dog created it/you." In actual usage, however, *teremtette* and its variants constitute a mild curse equivalent to the English "damn!"[4] The second word of the Hussar's monologue—*basá*—is most probably the distorted Hungarian expletive *bassza*, the third-person singular definite imperative form of the verb *baszni*. Its most appropriate English rendering would be "f--k him!" The other words in the Hussar's speech are of Slavic origin. Among them are *màlen'ka* ('small'), *pòlia* ('fields'), *vòda* ('water'), *zlàto* ('gold'), and *mòia* and *mòe* ('my'), which are common to many Slavic languages. The word *vèlko* ('large'), however, apparently stems from the Polish *wielkie*. It can also be maintained that the word *sve* ('everything') is Serbian. The word *blàto* is an interesting case. It means "mud" and "swamp" in all Slavic languages, but in Serbian it also means "lake";[5] the latter translation seems more likely in the context of the Hussar's monologue, since one would presumably boast about owning a lake rather than owning a swamp. Thus, a linguistic analysis of the Hussar's speech shows that in addition to the Hungarian and Serbian elements pointed out by Halahan, the speech may contain a Polish element.

The vertep Hussar—a swearer, a boaster, and the owner of a large moustache—is related to a character in Gogol's early, uncompleted work, *The Hetman*.[6] There, the head of the Polish uhlans,

[3] H. P. Halahan, "Malorusskii vertep," *Kievskaia starina*, vol. 4 (October 1882), p. 17. The word "hussar" is originally of Hungarian origin; in that language it initially meant "freebooter" or "free-lance," and later came to mean "light horseman." See the *Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 1353.

[4] See László Országh, *Magyar-angol szótár*, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1977), pp. 1916 and 1918.

[5] O. N. Trubnikov, ed., *Ètimologicheskii slovar' slavianskikh iazykov*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1975), p. 179. See also *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika*, vol. 1 (Belgrade, 1959), p. 635.

[6] The puppet of the vertep Hussar was made with a large moustache. See Ievhen Markovs'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi vertep* (Kiev, 1929), table 5, fig. 8².

who is characterized as "dovol'no roslyi poliak, s glupo-derzkoiu fizionomieiu,"[7] also uses a mixture of languages in his opening speech:

Что это? Как это?. . .Гунство, терем-те-те? Зачем драка, холопство проклятое? Лысый бес в кашу с смальцем! Разве? Что вы? Что тут драка? Порвал бы вас собака! . . .Что ты, глупый холоп, вздумал? Что ты начал драку? Басе мазенята, гунство! (III, 279–80)

This speech contains elements from three languages: Russian—understandably, since the story was written for a Russian readership; Polish—reflecting the Polish origin of the character; and Hungarian—employing two familiar Hungarian curses, "terem-te-te" and "base."[8] The head of the Polish uhlans also has a big moustache, and boasts about it in his dialogue with Ostranitsa:

"Славный у тебя ус, пан!" проговорил он [Ostranitsa], подступив к нему близко.
"Хороший! У тебя, холопа, не будет такого", произнес он [the head of the Polish uhlans], расправляя его рукою. (III, 281)

A related character appears in the fragment entitled "A Bloody Bandura-Player," which some scholars believe to be a part of *The Hetman* (see III, 713). There the leader of the Polish detachment also uses the curses "terem-te-te" (III, 302) and "basamazeniata" (III, 303). In portraying him Gogol not only describes this character's huge moustache, but emphasizes the linguistic heterogeneity of his speech:

Брань на разных наречиях посыпалась из-под огромнейших усов начальника отряда (III, 302)

. . .прогремел начальник языком, которому ни один человек не мог бы дать имени: из таких разнородных стихий был он составлен (III, 303).

Later in the story Gogol unveils the kinship of the head of the Polish detachment to the vertep Hussar by noting the same elements—Serbian, Hungarian, and Polish—in his character:

[7] N. V. Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 14 vols. (Moscow, 1937–1952), 3:279. All further citations from Gogol are to this edition and are given in parentheses in the text (volume numbers in roman numerals).
[8] The phrase "base mazeniata" in this speech is most likely the distorted Hungarian vulgar expression *basszam az anyádat*, which means "f--k your mother."

. . .Это было какое-то смешение пограничных наций. Родом серб, буйно искоренивший из себя все человеческое в венгерских попойках и грабительствах, по костюму и несколько по языку поляк (III, 304).

A certain similarity to these two early characters can be discerned in a character who appears in *Taras Bulba,* namely, the head of the prison guard, already present in the 1835 version of the work. That character's most notable characteristic is his extraordinary ability to curse: "rugalsia sil'nee vsekh" (II, 158). Hence, the characters in *The Hetman* and *Taras Bulba* descend in one line from the vertep Hussar. However, another feature of the vertep Hussar, the huge moustache, is passed on to a subordinate of the head of the prison guard—the *gaiduk*, or heyduck (see III, 716).[9]

Some characteristics of the vertep Hussar reemerge in Gogol's later characters. For example, in his play *The Gamblers*, Gogol puts the curse "teremtete" into the mouths of Uteshitel'nyi and Shvokhnev:

Глов (ободрившись). Что ж вы думаете? У меня разве не станет духу наплевать на все это, если уж на то пошло. Чорт побери, да здравствует гусарство!

Утешительный. Браво! Да здравствуют гусары! Теремтете! Шампанского! (Несут бутылки).

Глов (с стаканом). Да здравствуют гусары!

Ихарев. Да здравствуют гусары, чорт побери!

Швохнев. Теремтете! да здравствуют гусары! (V, 91)

Here Gogol uses the expressions "chort poberi" and "teremtete" interchangeably, thereby demonstrating his familiarity with the meaning of this Hungarian curse. Gogol's heroes exploit the curse when speaking about hussars. These two elements show that Gogol was familiar with the personage of the vertep Hussar, as well as with the Hussar's speech in the vertep performance. Then, too,

[9] By calling this character *gaiduk*, Gogol might have referred to his Hungarian origin. The word derives from the Hungarian *hajdúk* (sg. *hajdú*). *Hajdú* originated in the early sixteenth century as a variant of *hajtó*, which meant "armed cattle drovers." Later the word designated freebooters on the Turkish frontier, who were in the service of Habsburg, Transylvanian, or Polish monarchs. See *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, 3 vols. (Budapest, 1976), s.v. "hajdú."

In the Polish language, the word *hajduk* historically has meant a soldier of the Hungarian infantry in the Polish army. See, for example, Witold Doroszewski, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1961), p. 8. In Ukrainian, Gogol's native language, however, *haiduk* simply means "a soldier of a court guard." See *Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1971), p. 16.

both Uteshitel'nyi and Shvokhnev, like the vertep Hussar and Gogol's early characters in *The Hetman* and *Taras Bulba*, have military backgrounds. For example, Uteshitel'nyi says: "Znaesh' li, Shvokhnev, chto mne prishlo na um? Pokachaem ego na rukakh, kak y nas kachali v polku!" (V, 91).

Another of Gogol's later characters can be linked to the personage of the vertep Hussar—Nozdrev, in *Dead Souls*. The Hussar's moustache is transformed into Nozdrev's muttonchop whiskers, but just like his vertep prototype, Nozdrev has a predilection for cursing. He uses such expressions as "chorta lysogo" (VI, 82), "chort s toboiu" (VI, 76), and "podlets" (VI, 79), and his frequent rudeness causes Chichikov to comment: "Esli khochesh' poshchegoliat' podobnymi rechamy, tak stupai v kazarmy" (VI, 79). Although not a military man, Nozdrev has "military" connections that link him to the vertep Hussar. For example, Nozdrev enjoys the company of the dragoon officers (dragoons, like hussars and uhlans, were cavalry) and considers himself one of them, using the collective "we" in referring to himself and them: "Voobrasi, chto v trekh verstakh ot goroda stoial dragunskii polk. Verish' li, chto ofitsery, skol'ko ikh ni bylo, sorok chelovek odnikh ofitserov bylo v gorode; kak nachali my, bratets, pit'" (VI, 65). In his description of a heated argument between Nozdrev and Chichikov, Gogol compares the latter with a fortress and the former with a desperate lieutenant:

"Бейте его!" кричал Ноздрев, порываясь вперед с черешневым чубуком, весь в жару, в поту, как будто подступал под неприступную крепость. "Бейте его!" кричал он таким же голосом, как во время великого приступа кричит своему взводу: "Ребята, вперед!" какой-нибудь отчаянный поручик, которого взбалмошная храбрость уже приобрела такую известность, что дается нарочный приказ держать его за руки во время горячих дел. (VI, 86)

Nozdrev most resembles the vertep Hussar when, like that prototype, he boasts about his mythical possessions:

"Вот граница!" сказал Ноздрев: "все, что ни видишь по эту сторону, все это мое, и даже по ту сторону, весь этот лес, который вон синеет, и все, что за лесом, все это мое!" (VI, 74)

It is noteworthy that the word *blato,* meaning in this case "swamp," is implied in the passage which precedes Nozdrev's boastful speech:

Ноздрев повел своих гостей полем, которое во многих местах состояло из кочек. . . . Во многих местах ноги их выдавливали под собою воду, до такой степени место было низко. (VI, 74)

Many of Gogol's characters have features derived from the vertep Hussar. Like him, they are military people, they swear and boast in a mixture of languages, and they sport large moustaches. The connection is especially evident in Gogol's early works. In *The Hetman* (1832) and *Taras Bulba* (1835), the vertep-inspired characters help convey the spirit of the seventeenth-century Ukraine. In Gogol's later works, *The Gamblers* and *Dead Souls* (both published in 1842), there is a weaker connection between the vertep Hussar and Gogol's characters. An explanation is that the action in these works takes place not in seventeenth-century Ukraine, but in nineteenth-century Russia, where characters modeled on the vertep Hussar were out of place. More important, however, is that in his later works, Gogol was leaning more and more towards a psychological portrayal of his characters, and, therefore, *vertep* personages—coarse and stereotypical—were less appropriate for his later fiction. Nonetheless, Gogol continued to draw from his native cultural heritage, endowing such characters as Uteshitel'nyi and Nozdrev with some features of the vertep Hussar. He used vertep personages as prototypes not only for some of his early characters, as Rozov noted, but for later ones, as well.

Northern Illinois University

Ukrainian-Jewish Intermarriages in Rural Areas of the Ukraine in the Nineteenth Century

MIKHAIL AGURSKY

This short essay presents some information about marriages between Ukrainian Orthodox Christians and Jews that took place in some rural areas of the Ukraine in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Such intermarriages were strictly forbidden by both the Orthodox church and by Jewish religious law (*Halakha*). Also, until 1905, conversion to any non-Christian religion was strictly forbidden by Russian imperial law; breaking that law was a serious offense punishable by imprisonment. The only way an Orthodox-Jewish couple could marry legally, then, was if the Jewish partner converted to Orthodoxy.

Mixed marriages in rural areas took place mostly between Ukrainian peasant boys and Jewish girls. Young Ukrainian males usually had some property and could begin family life on a more or less sound economic base without a dowry from the bride's family. On the contrary, a young Jewish male wanting to marry a Ukrainian girl would not have had any economic security, because he would immediately have been expelled from his Jewish community.

Orthodox priests appealed to their faithful to avoid any but economic contact with Jews.[1] Jewish communities, too, tried to prevent any social contact with Ukrainians, let alone mixed marriages. The majority of romantic attractions between Jews and Ukrainians were certainly extinguished early. But some tragic stories were reported about such love affairs and about some intermarriages, as well.

In 1877 a fifteen-year-old Jewish girl, Haika Prisent, daughter of a local tavernowner, fell in love with a Ukrainian peasant, Terentii Bondarchuk. She converted to Orthodoxy and received the name Domna. The couple married. In 1878 Domna Bondarchuk was

[1] Cf. A. Gromakovskii, "Evreiskii vopros po otnosheniiu k pastyriam tserkvi," *Rukovodstvo dlia sel'skikh pastyrei*, 1862, no. 52.

found strangled in a burnt-down house.[2] Her father was accused of the arson and murder, but in 1885 he was found not guilty.[3] In 1876 the corpse of a fifteen-year-old Jewish girl was found in the town of Cherkasy. The girl had recently converted, and was going to marry a Ukrainian Orthodox peasant. Her funeral attracted 4,000 people.[4]

In Kiev the St. Vladimir Brotherhood administered conversions of Jews to Orthodoxy. This organization published reports, including some covering its activity from 1870 to 1889.[5] The brotherhood was headed by an imperial official, but its board also comprised several prominent priests and theologians, including F. Lebedyntsev, N. Florinskii, I. Malyshevs'kyi, and V. Pevnitskii.[6]

A report published by the brotherhood in 1881 said that the majority of Jews whom it converted were simple people, illiterate but hard-working. The report added that "[Jewish] girls who married [Orthodox] peasants, being already accustomed to the peasant way of life and to physical work, directly joined peasant families."[7] In 1882, too, the brotherhood reported that "[converted] Jews came from among the simple people, mostly artisans: Jewesses came mostly from villages and joined peasant families after conversion."[8] The brotherhood recorded the figures given below in table 1 as the numbers of conversions it performed in the period 1870 to 1889; I have provided the figures for Jewish conversion throughout the Russian Empire for the same years.[9]

2 "Delo po obvineniu evreia Prisenta v podstrekatel'stve k ubiistvu svoei docheri," *Kievlianin*, 1885, no. 283.

3 "Sudebnaia khronika," *Nedelnaia khronika Voskhoda*, 1886, no. 1.

4 "Muchenicheskaia konchina khreshchennoi evreiki," *Strannik*, 1876, vol. 2.

5 *Otchet Kievskogo Sviato-Vladimirskogo bratstva s 1864 po 1889 g.* (Kiev, 1889).

6 Feofan Havrylovych Lebedyntsev (1819–1886), a professor at the Kiev Theological Academy, was also the first publisher and editor of *Kievskaia starina*. Nikolai Ivanovich Florinskii (1826–1900) held the post of *magistr* at the Kiev Theological Academy. Ivan Ihnatiivych Malyshevs'kyi (1828–1897), church historian, and Vasilii Fedorovich Pevnitskii (1832–?), theologian, were professors at the academy.

7 "Iz otcheta Kievskogo Sviato-Vladimirskogo bratstva," *Kievskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti*, 1881, no. 44.

8 "Iz otcheta Kievskogo Sviato-Vladimirskogo bratstva," *Kievskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti*, 1882, no. 20.

9 Statistics for the St. Vladimir Brotherhood are taken from the organization's *Otchet* (as in fn. 5). Statistics for the Russian Empire as a whole are from I. Preobrazhenskii, *Otechestvennaia tserkov' po statisticheskim dannym s 1840–1841 po 1890–1891 gg.* (St. Petersburg, 1897).

Table 1

Conversions of Jews to Orthodoxy, 1870–1889

Years	St. Vladimir Brotherhood	The Russian Empire
until 1870	7	34,224
1870–1871	25	544
1871–1872	25	410
1872–1873	16	493
1873–1874	17	427
1874–1875	23	430
1875–1876	16	450
1876–1877	34	433
1877–1978	34	463
1878–1879	19	510
1879–1880	27	398
1880–1881	38	572
1881–1882	30	610
1882–1883	35	461
1883–1884	38	570
1884–1885	41	562
1885–1886	34	700
1886–1887	81	800
1887–1888	48	952
1888–1889	29	710

The brotherhood only occasionally published names of Jewish converts. It did provide such a list for 1881–82, which follows as table 2.

Table 2

List of Jewish Converts to Orthodoxy in the Ukraine, reported by the St. Vladimir Brotherhood for 1882–1882[10]

Name before Conversion	Sex	Age	Residence[11]
Khaskel' Strizhevskii	m	15	*m.* Borispol'
Feiga Stavisskaia	f	17	*s.* Zelenok, Kanevskii *u.*
Rivka Fratsman	f	16	*d.* Zubari, Vasil'kovskii *u.*
Reiza Brushlovskaia	f	16	*d.* Sklimenets, Kanevskii *u.*
Basia Kosiakova	f	28	Iasnogorodskoe, Kievskii *u.*
Freida-Liia Belogradskaia	f	15	*s.* Dashek, Kanevskii *u.*
Gdaliia Kaminskii	m	16	Pedanovka, Zvenigorodskii *u.*
Beila Avrutskaia	f	19	*x.* Potok, Kievskii *u.*
Sura-Mindlia Sklovskaia	f	17	Makarov, Kievskii *u.*
Gershko Gubnok	m	17	*m.* Rzhishchev, Kievskii *u.*
Mordukh Korkhon	m	25	Kievskii *u.*
Pesia Reiberg	f	20	Fastov
Srul' Shpimok	m	15	Chernobyl'
Nekhama Mazur	f	16	*m.* Ignatovka, Kievskii *u.*
Gitlia Slutskaia	f	27	Chernobyl'
Mer'ia Lazebnik (divorced)	f	20	Gornostaipol', Radomyshl'skii *u.*
Shindlia Gershkova	f	20	*m.* Makov, Kamenets-Podol'skii *u.*
Mariia Magidova	f	15	No place of residence indicated
Libi-Sora Tovbina	f	18	Chernigov
Berko Gol'denberg	m	24	*m.* Stepanets, Kanevskii *u.*

[10] The brotherhood also converted people who were not from the Ukraine.

[11] *m. = mestechko, s. = selo, d. = derevnia, g. = gorod, x. = khutor, u. = uezd, o. = obshchestvo, gub. = guberniia.*

Some of the place-names are given in their genitive form, apparently due to the *iz* 'from' construction (i.e., *Zelenok, Dashek, Stepanets* rather than *Zelenki, Dashki, Stepantsy*). The Ukrainian versions of those names are as follows (listed alphabetically): Berdychiv; Berezivka; Boryspil'; Chernihiv; Chornobyl'; Deshky, Kanivs'kyi povit; Dmytrivka, Vasyl'kivs'kyi povit; Dobre, Vasyl'kivs'kyi povit; Fastiv; Hornostaipil', Radomys'kyi povit; Iasnohorodka, Kyivs'kyi povit; Ihnativka, Kyivs'kyi povit; Ivankiv, Radomys'kyi povit; Kam''ianka, Chyhyryns'kyi povit; Khodorkiv, Skvyrs'kyi povit; Kovalivka, Vasyl'kivs'kyi povit; Makariv, Kyivs'kyi povit; Makiv, Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi povit; Ostrih, Volyns'ka huberniia; Pavlohrad; Pavoloch, Skvyrs'kyi povit; Pedynivka, Zvenyhorods'kyi povit; Pereselennia; Pokotylove, Umans'kyi povit; Popivka, Tarashchans'kyi povit; Potik, Kyivs'kyi povit; Radomyshl'; Ratne, Volyns'ka huberniia; Rzhyshchiv, Kyivs'kyi povit; Sklymentsi, Kanivs'kyi povit; Vasyl'kiv; Volodarka, Skvyrs'kyi povit; Zelen'ky, Kanivs'kyi povit; Zubari, Vasyl'kivs'kyi povit.

Èta Brodskaia	f	19	*s.* Volodarka, Skvirskii *u.*
Basia Voskoboinik	f	17	*s.* Tarashcha, Kanevskii *u.*
Genia Kagan	f	18	*d.* Popovka, Tarashchanskii *u.*
Bliuma Gesman (divorced)	f	30	*m.* Pokotyla, Umanskii *u.*
Ginda Sidorenko	f	17	*d.* Dmitrovka, Vasil'kovskii *u.*
Malia Remennaia	f	14	*d.* Volodarka, Skvirskii *u.*
Leiba Bresfan	m	24	Vasil'kov
Ruvim Levashenko	m	21	*g.* Tarashcha
Funa Kozlov	m	17	*s.* Dobro, Vasil'kovskii *u.*
Zlata Sedletskaia	f	18	*m.* Ivankovo, Radomyshl'skii *u.*
Khaia-Bliuma Elisavetskaia	f	22	*m.* Kamenka, Chigirinskii *u.*
Khaia-Sima Petrikovskaia	f	25	Vasil'kov
Baba Vinovskaia	f	17	Khodorkovskoe evreiskoe *o.*, Skvirskii *u.*
Khaikel' Shpikel'	m	24	Pavoloch'e, Skvirskii *u.*
Iankel' Shlimovich	m	28	Chernigov
Rukhlia Kagan	f	17	*s.* Kovalevka, Vasil'kovskii *u.*
Tsiva Rudenko	f	17	*s.* Berezovka
Elisaveta Matsievskaia	f	19	*g.* Ostrog, Volynskaia *gub.*
Beila Braslavskaia (divorced)	f	16	*s.* Khodorkovo, Skvirskii *u.*
Khana Shenker	f	23	*m.* Ratno, Volynskaia *gub.*
Khaim-Ikdal' Skalka	m	24	*g.* Pavlograd
Intsa Poliachenko	f	17	*d.* Pereselen'e
Rivka Dubovitskaia	f	16	*g.* Radomyshl'
Avrum-Rabi London	m	18	Vasil'kov
Borukh Tsel'man	m	20	Berdichev

An analysis of this list yields some interesting observations. The majority of Jewish female converts listed are above the average marital age for Jewish brides. Jews generally married very young, beginning at age 13 for both boys and girls. We know that their marriages were traditionally arranged by the parents. The potential bride's primary attraction for the groom's parents was her dowry, followed by the social position of her parents. The young people themselves were not consulted. A young bride could be given in marriage to an elderly widower, or a young boy could be obliged to marry a cripple or a degenerate. Jewish girls who did not marry by the age of 16 or 17 were considered unsuitable as brides for Jewish boys or men, and so were probably more open to marriage with gentiles.

The list of Jewish converts includes three divorced women. According to Jewish law, divorce had to be initiated by the husband. Whatever the reason for a woman's divorce, she could not marry again within the Jewish community. Young Jewish divorcées may have converted in the hope of marrying a gentile, whether or not such a prospect actually presented itself.

The majority of Jewish female converts in 1881–1882 came from the Kiev province, and many were from the same village, such as Volodarka or Khodorkiv. One can only speculate on the reasons for this.

Some Jewish female converts had taken another kind of radical step: they joined urban brothels. At the beginning of the 1870s there were several brothels in Kiev run by converted Jews and staffed by converted Jewesses. Archbishop Nykanor (Brovkovych) noted this in his memoirs, relating that once, after blessing a Jewish girl convert, he had been told that she was going to join a Kiev brothel.[12] Local Orthodox Jews said about such girls that they were "baptized on Andrew's Hill"—the place where the brothels were located. In 1873 these establishments were closed.

Not all conversions in the Ukraine were performed by the St. Vladimir Brotherhood, so that the total number of Jewish conversions and of rural Ukrainian Orthodox-Jewish intermarriages could have been higher than these statistics indicate.

The statistics presented here do not shed any light on the subsequent "national" feelings of the Jewish partners in mixed marriages. It would be worthwhile to look for further materials with which to test the common-sense assumption that urban Orthodox-Jewish intermarriages in the Ukraine generally led to the Russification of the couple, because the urban culture at the time was predominantly Russian, whereas intermarriages in rural areas of the Ukraine generally led to the Ukrainization of the Jewish partner. Of course, the mixed couple could also leave their home area to start a new life elsewhere.

The Hebrew University

12 "Zapiski arkhiepiskopa Nikanora," *Russkii arkhiv,* 1908, no. 2.

DOCUMENTS

The *Antimaxia* of 1632 and the Polemic over Uniate-Orthodox Relations

PAULINA LEWIN and FRANK E. SYSYN

The polemical tract discussed and published in this article bears the title "The *Antimaxia,* or discourse answering a discourse issued by someone during the [dietine] reporting [about the Diet] by the Volhynian delegates, at Luts'k on the 16th day of August, in the year of Our Lord, 1632." This text was first mentioned by Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi, who discovered it in a manuscript of the Czartoryski Library but never fulfilled a plan to publish it.[1] Produced as part of the debate over the decisions of the Volhynian dietine, it belongs to the corpus of religious polemical literature that debated whether the Ruthenian church should be Orthodox or Uniate. It is a work of the first phase of the polemic (from the Union of Brest in 1596 to the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising of 1648), when the fate of the Ruthenian church was an internal matter of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The *Antimaxia* was written at one of the major turning points in the Uniate-Orthodox struggles of that period: the election of King Władysław IV in 1632. In 1620, the patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, taking advantage of the Khotyn War, had consecrated an Orthodox metropolitan for Kiev and bishops for the Ruthenian church. At first, the government refused to recognize these prelates; but in 1632 the Orthodox used the election process to obtain recognition for the legality of their church and its right to have a hierarchy of its own.

[1] Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi (Wacław Lipiński), "Echa przeszłości," no. 7: "Szlachta unici," in Wacław Lipiński, ed., *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kiev [Cracow], 1912), p. 115. Lypyns'kyi planned to publish the text in the series of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, but must have been prevented from doing so by the outbreak of World War I. Lypyns'kyi mentions only that the text is found in a manuscript of the "Arch. Czartoryskich." It exists in two manuscripts of the Biblioteka Czartoryskich (hereafter BCz): MS 373, doc. 38, pp. 470–81 and MS 124, doc. 141, pp. 587–601.

The illegal status of the Orthodox church before 1632 had greatly troubled the Orthodox nobles. Like all nobles in the Commonwealth, they believed that their state had an almost perfect form of government, and they prided themselves on their privileges. Yet they were obliged to recognize that although the Calvinists, Lutherans, and even the Antitrinitarians were granted freedom of religious belief and observance in the predominantly Catholic Commonwealth, the Orthodox could practice their religion only by contravening the law. Because they were Orthodox, these nobles found themselves in the difficult position of siding with Orthodox commoners and rebellious Zaporozhian Cossacks against the institutions of their own "Nobles' Commonwealth."[2]

The Orthodox nobles were particularly anxious to attain official recognition of their church because they understood that continuing conversions from their ranks to the Roman Catholic church were weakening their group's position as a defender of the Orthodox church at Diets, dietines, and courts. However, the declining fortunes of the Orthodox nobles had not strengthened the Uniate church, since most nobles rejected that church as a "plebeian" compromise and converts preferred to join Latin-Rite Catholicism. This was particularly true of the Ukrainian lands where, unlike in Belorussia, almost no nobles were Uniates. Despite the conversions, the Orthodox nobles remained relatively numerous and powerful in the palatinates detached from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and incorporated into Poland in 1569—the Volhynia, Bratslav, and Kiev palatinates. It was in these territories that Orthodox nobles concentrated their activity in 1632, with the lead going to Volhynia.[3]

The Orthodox were in a particularly strong position in the lands incorporated into Poland because the regional privileges guaranteed at the time of the Union of Lublin—the right to retain a separate law code, to use Ruthenian as the official language, and to establish

[2] The best work on this topic is P. Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadnorusskogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei od 1609*, 6 pts. (St. Petersburg, 1901–1911). Also see Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kościół Prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska, 1370–1632* (Warsaw, 1934).

[3] On the events and debates of this year, see Zacharias ab Haarlem, *Unio Ruthenorum a morte Sigismundi III usque ad coronationem Ladislai 1632–1633* (Tartu, 1936); Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (New York, 1956), pp. 140–87, and S. T. Golubev, *Kievskii Mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1883–98).

a separate tribunal—had also included an affirmation of equality between the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox. The nobility of these lands could hardly question the rights of the Orthodox church to exist, since within living memory these palatinates had been overwhelmingly Orthodox.

Although the government asserted that all privileges of the Orthodox church accrued to the Uniate church after 1596, the nobles of the Ukrainian lands were aware that those nobles who remained loyal to the Ruthenian church insisted that the church should continue to be Orthodox, not Uniate. Only the most zealous Catholic converts or the Polish newcomers to the region were likely to object to the religious freedoms of "the Rus' of the Old Greek Faith." In the 1620s, delegates to the Diet representing the Volhynian dietine threatened to walk out of the Diet if they did not get concessions affirming the rights of the Orthodox church. Throughout the 1620s, 1630s, and 1640s, dietines for the Volhynia and Kiev palatinates continued to back petitions to the Diet designed to satisfy Orthodox grievances even though, as the papal nuncio pointed out, Roman Catholic nobles had come to outnumber their Orthodox neighbors, at least in Volhynia.[4]

King Zygmunt III, whose ardent advocacy of the Counter-Reformation had disturbed all non-Catholics, died on 30 April 1632. The Orthodox and the Protestants formed a coalition to take advantage of the interregnum and to further their interests. The threat of war with Protestant Sweden and, even more probably, with Orthodox Muscovy was uppermost in the mind of the most likely successor to the Polish throne, Zygmunt's son, Władysław, and this placed the non-Catholics in a strong bargaining position. In addition, it was already known that Władysław did not share his father's zeal for the Catholic faith.[5]

Throughout 1632 pro-Orthodox and pro-Uniate groups argued their respective cases for the right to control the Ruthenian church, mainly in the publications of the Orthodox and Uniate brother-

[4] For the dietine instructions, see *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 2, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1867). On the nuncio's statement, see Zacharias ab Haarlem, *Unio Ruthenorum*, pp. 8–9.

[5] On the process of Władysław's election and the role of religion and foreign powers, see Władysław Czapliński, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 93–98.

hoods of Vilnius.[6] At the Convocation Diet (June 22–July 17), called to establish procedures for electing the new king, a special conference debated these issues and drew up a preliminary agreement under Władysław's guidance.[7] The Orthodox convinced Władysław of the need to recognize the Orthodox church as a legal institution with its own hierarchy, but Władysław could not afford to alienate the pro-Uniate Catholics, who if sufficiently antagonized could prevent his election. The Catholics insisted that no measure touching upon the affairs of the Catholic church could be taken without papal approval.[8] Władysław urged them to be realistic for the good of the realm, promised future Catholic gains should the campaigns against Muscovy and Sweden succeed, and hinted that any concessions granted the Orthodox for the moment need not be irrevocable. This maneuvering to avoid open confrontation led to undercover negotiations, nebulous statements, and open disavowals of secret agreements.

Finally, at the Election Diet (24 October–15 November), a commission selected by Władysław presented a compromise, which was issued as a privilege immediately following his election. The agreement divided the Ruthenian church into two legal churches, the Orthodox and the Uniate, and permitted the Orthodox to elect their own metropolitan and bishops. Even at the Election Diet, however, the Catholic nobles and bishops added *salvis iuribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* to the *pacta conventa*, thus reserving the right to call into question any concessions—a right they immediately proceeded to exercise. At the Election Diet and the Coronation Diet (8 February–17 March 1633) both the Catholic-Uniate camp and the Papal Nuncio questioned the validity of the compromise, and influential Catholic preachers such as Fabian Birkowski joined the

6 The Orthodox Brotherhood issued *Synopsis albo krótkie opisanie praw, świebod y wolności* and *Supplementum Synopsis albo zupełnieysze obiaśnienie krótkiego opisania praw, przywileiów, świebod i wolności.* Both are reprinted in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii,* pt. 1, vol. 7 (Kiev, 1877), pp. 533–647. The Uniate Brotherhood of Vilnius answered in two pamphlets: one, published on 1 September 1632, entitled *Jedność Święta Cerkwie Wschodniej y Zachodniey . . . przeciw skryptowi Synopsis nazwanemu, rocznymi dzieiami ruskimi okrzszczonemu,* and the other, on 1 October 1632, *Prawa y przywileie od Naiaśnieyszych Królów . . . obywatelom Korony Polskiey y Wielkiego XL. Religiey Greckiej w jedności z Ś. Kościołem Rzymskim będącym.*

7 See the "Memoriał namowy" published in Golubev, *Mitropolit Petr Mogila,* 1, pt. 2:424–25, and in Archiwum Województwa w Gdańsku, Recesy stanów zachodniopruskich, MS 300, 29, 112, fol. 82. For a Latin version, see Zacharias ab Haarlem, *Unio Ruthenorum,* pp. 35–36.

8 See Zacharias ad Haarlem, *Unio Ruthenorum,* pp. 39–40, for Rome's reaction.

chorus of protest against the new concessions.[9] The Lithuanian vice-chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł even refused to affix a seal validating the charter, and only gave in when the new king threatened to grant royal appointments to non-Catholics.[10]

The delegates to the Diets selected by the Volhynian dietine played a major role in defending the Orthodox position during the controversy over the Ruthenian church. The Orthodox were particularly active in ensuring the Volhynian dietine's support after the Convocation Diet of June and July 1632, at which the Orthodox had gained concessions for a legalization of their church and were given control over certain eparchies and institutions by a joint commission of Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Orthodox were not satisfied with the terms of the agreement dividing the Ruthenian church, and in any case they suspected that the other side would renege on those terms. They therefore decided to press their case at the Volhynian dietine. When, on 16 August 1632, the Volhynian delegates reported the proceedings of the Convocation Diet to the dietine at Luts'k, instead of approving the compromise act the dietine advocated the rights of the Orthodox to the entire Ruthenian church. It justified the resolution as being in accord both with the guarantees made when the Ukrainian palatinates were annexed in 1569 and with the will of the Rus' "nation."[11]

[9] See Birkowski's "Exorbitancye ruskie," in *O exorbitancyach, kazania dwoje przeciwko niewiernym, heretykom, odszczepieńcom. . . Archiwum napisane w Warszawie roku pańskiego 1632,* ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski (Cracow, 1859) [*Biblioteka Polska,* ser. 1859, no. 37].

[10] For the article of the compromise, see Golubev, *Mitropolit Petr Mogila,* 2, pt. 2:4–9. On the protests of the Catholic party and the signature *salvis iuribus Ecclesiae Catholicae,* see BCz, MS 363, fols. 245 and 277–300. For documentation on the activities of the Uniate church and of Rome to undo the compromise and save the position of the Uniate church, see E. Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Orient Orthodox Russe* (Prague, 1928), pt. 2, pp. 88–109; *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes (1550–1850),* vol. 5 (Rome, 1961), pp. 88–69 [Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3]; *Epistolae Metropolitarum Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum,* vol. 1 (Metropolitan Iosyf Ruts'kyi) (Rome, 1956), pp. 259–69 [Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3], and *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia* [Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3]. For Radziwiłł's confrontation on 17 March 1633 with King Władysław, see Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Memoriale Rerum Gestarum in Polonia 1632–1656,* vol. 1 (Wrocław, 1968), p. 184. [Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie. Materiały Komisji Nauk Historycznych, 15].

[11] For the instructions see BCz, MS 365, pp. 1722–27. King Władysław expressed his approval of the dietine's proceedings and resolutions in a letter to Adam Kysil dated 29 August 1632; BCz MS 365, pp. 1728–29.

Because the solution of dividing the Ruthenian church had been worked out with prominent Orthodox nobles, the Volhynian dietine's decisions may have been simply a ploy to strengthen the Orthodox hand in the next round of debates. In any case, the Uniates immediately protested the dietine's act, arguing that despite the validity of their own claims, they had agreed to concessions for the good of the realm; now the Volhynian dietine's demands placed any compromise agreement in question.[12] This protest was seconded by one issued by the Uniate church hierarchy on September 4.[13] The Volhynian dietine's ploy proved a success: the Orthodox eventually gained more eparchies and benefices from the final compromise agreement than they had from the Convocation Diet.

To argue their case, the Orthodox issued a *Dyskurs* that was disseminated among the Volhynian nobles at the Luts'k dietine on 16 August 1632. No text of the *Dyskurs* has survived, and its contents must be deduced from the *Antimaxia*, which is a response to it. It appears that the *Dyskurs* repeated the arguments the Orthodox nobles usually made in support of the recognition of their church. These arguments were based on the privileges granted to the Ruthenian church and on freedom of conscience, a right enjoyed by all nobles of the Commonwealth. This was a "minimalist" position; it aimed to guarantee the continued existence of the Orthodox church. The Orthodox nobles, who had much more to lose than the Cossack rank-and-file or the Orthodox monks of the trans-Dnieper region, avoided "maximalist" arguments that attacked the Catholic faith, demanded the outright abolition of the Uniate church, and rejected the very idea of union.[14] Because Orthodoxy was under siege, it had little prospect of converting Catholics or drawing them into a new union based on Orthodox principles. The Orthodox, if they were to survive, had to depend on tolerance and guarantees of religious liberties. Of course, when the tables were turned after 1648, the Orthodox soon demonstrated that they were no more tolerant of "error," "schism," and "heresy" than were the Catholics.

12 16 August 1632, BCz MS 365, pp. 1728–29.

13 Golubev, *Mitropolit Petr Mogila*, 1, pt. 2:447–49.

14 Ivan Vyshens'kyi and Afanasii Filipovich can be viewed as "maximalist" polemicists. For their works, see *Ukrains'ki pysmennyky: Biobibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, vol. 1, comp. L. Ie. Makhnovets' (Kiev, 1960), pp. 230–36 and 591–92.

Judging by the counterarguments of the *Antimaxia*, the tone of the *Dyskurs* appears to have been moderate. The *Dyskurs* sought toleration for Orthodoxy and defended the right of the Ruthenian faithful to choose between the Orthodox and Uniate churches. It argued that Kiev received the faith from Constantinople, and must therefore remain subject to its patriarch. The privileges of the princes of Rus', the grand dukes of Lithuania, and the kings of Poland were granted to the Ruthenian church when it was Orthodox. In addition the Union of Brest had been entered into without the consent of many Ruthenian clergymen and nobles and therefore could not bind them. The guarantees of freedom of conscience and the rejection of union by the Volhynian nobles required that Orthodoxy be recognized in the Commonwealth. Finally, the Greek faith, as the most ancient, could not harbor any errors.

The *Dyskurs*'s author seems to have taken great care to avoid confrontation with the Catholics, even to the point of suggesting that eventually some sort of union between the churches would be not only possible, but desirable. He must have belonged to the faction of Orthodox nobles who had been conciliatory in the 1620s, if only to mollify King Zygmunt III. A few of them actually favored negotiations between Catholics and Orthodox and sought new terms upon which to base a union.[15] In 1629, they had agreed to Zygmunt's request for discussions with the Uniates (only to discover that the meeting had been called to put the Union of Brest in effect, and not at all to open it to discussion). From the *Antimaxia*'s rebuttal of the *Dyskurs*, it appears that the latter was similar in tone to the other Orthodox tracts published in 1632–1633. Both Lavrentii Drevyns'kyi and Adam Kysil, Volhynian nobles, have been proposed as authors of these anonymous texts and both men can be considered likely candidates for being author of the *Dyskurs* as well.[16]

[15] For the last major attempt to come to an agreement (with citations of the scholarly literature), see Frank E. Sysyn, "Adam Kysil and the Synods of 1629: An Attempt at Orthodox-Uniate Accommodation in the Reign of Sigismund III," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4, pt. 2 (1979–1980): 826–42.

[16] For the attribution of the *Synopsis* (see fn. 6) to Lavrentii Drevyns'kyi, see *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky*, 1:336. On *Rzym, albo stolica rzymska*, see S. Golubev, "Neizvestnoe polemicheskoe sochinenie protiv papskikh pritiazanii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii (1633 goda)," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, 1899, no. 2, pp. 300–41. Golubev's attribution to Kysil (p. 325) is plausible, for the tract's arguments agree with those that Kysil put forth at the Election Diet; BCz, MS 363, fol. 365. For more discussion of the possible author, see fn. 18, below.

Sometime after the events of 16 August, someone answered the Volhynian *Dyskurs* and argued for the Uniate position. When was this response, the *Antimaxia,* written and who wrote it? The author mentions that "privileges" had been granted to the Ruthenian church at "the coronation of the late king" (Zygmunt III), and that further discussions during the coming election were therefore not necessary. From this we can deduce that the *Antimaxia* was written shortly before the Election Diet of October-November 1632. The person who assumed the task of answering the Volhynian *Dyskurs* and arguing the Catholic position reveals little about his identity; he refers to himself only as a member of the laity and as a *polityk*. However, his offhand treatment of nobiliary freedom of conscience and his insistence on the equality of all social classes in God's kingdom casts doubt even on that statement. The arguments he musters are more those of a man of the church than of a lay noble. In contrast to the Orthodox defenders, Uniate polemicists almost always were churchmen and often were not even Uniates, but Roman Catholic clergymen. Perhaps for tactical reasons the author wanted the response to appear to have come from a lay noble. If the text was indeed written by a layman, he had certainly made the spirit of the Counter-Reformation his own.

Catholic and Uniate polemical works both reflected the strengths and weaknesses of the Catholic church's position in its campaign to gain the allegiance of the Ruthenians. The Catholics' strength lay in their political and intellectual superiority in the Commonwealth and in the consistency of Catholic polemical arguments, reaching back to Piotr Skarga. Catholic weakness lay in the dominance of Orthodoxy over union in the history of the Ruthenian church; in the meager number of Ruthenians, common and noble, who preferred union to Orthodoxy; and in the nobles' rejection of curbs on freedom of conscience for themselves. The Orthodox could portray themselves as the wronged party, the sole defenders of the Rus' inheritance, and the upholders of noble privilege. The Catholics could only appeal to the truth of Catholicism and the inviolability of the Union of Brest. They also accused the Orthodox of treason, of consorting with Cossacks and other rebellious elements, and of violence (e.g., upbraiding them for the attempted assassination of Ipatii Potii and the murder of Iosafat Kuntsevych).

The *Antimaxia*'s author declares all faiths, except for the Catholic, false and inspired by the Devil; he even speculates on how satanic forces must have possessed the writer of the *Dyskurs*.

Although he initially acknowledges the validity of noble privileges and the right to freedom of conscience, he later insists that the only true church is the one ruled by the see of Peter and that there is no justification for vacillation between Orthodox error and Catholic truth. He unequivocally maintains that Ruthenians who choose Orthodoxy will be eternally damned.

Although the author emphasizes the oneness of the true church and the exalted position of the Roman pope, he has no objection to differences in rite. He defends the Uniates against the Orthodox charge that, by corrupting the traditions and purity of the Eastern church, Uniate clergymen have ceased to be its true representatives. He argues that Uniate clergymen no more cease to be Eastern priests if they distribute Latin-rite Communion when Latin-rite priests are unavailable than midwives cease to be midwives and become priests if they baptize infants in mortal danger when no priest is present.

The author of the *Antimaxia* espouses the Counter-Reformation's view that the clergymen should have an almost exclusive voice in all ecclesiastical affairs. It is solely for the clergy to teach, he insists; the laity has no business debating canons. His admonition was elicited by the Orthodox argument that rejecting the Union of Brest was a legal act because the Union was an agreement reached without the nobility's consent and was therefore not binding. The Ruthenian Orthodox nobles insisted on their right to approve matters affecting the Ruthenian church, reflecting the fact that lay nobles played a far greater role in the Orthodox church of the seventeenth century than did their counterparts in the Catholic. In the Catholic church, the nobility reserved high ecclesiastical office for itself, but its authority was otherwise limited by royal power, clerical privilege, and an active papacy. In the Orthodox church, the nobles not only had a monopoly on high church office, but also took part in governance and synods, with relatively little interference from the king—especially when he considered the church illegal—or from distant patriarchs. At the synod of 1629, for example, the Orthodox clergy refused to discuss compromise with the Uniates, unless the nobles were present, because, except for matters of dogma, the clergy could not decide church affairs without their consent.[17]

[17] P. Zhukovich, *Materialy dlia istorii Kievskogo i Lvovskogo soborov* (St. Petersburg, 1911) (*Zapiski Imperatorskoi akademii nauk*, ser. 8: *Po Istoriko-filologicheskomu otdeleniiu*, 15), pp. 12–13.

The *Dyskurs* to which the *Antimaxia* responds had dismissed Uniate claims on the grounds that a hundred of the most important Volhynian noble families professed Orthodoxy, not the Union. He remarks that he was once the only Uniate in the Volodymyr area, a statement which suggests that Prince Hryhorii Chetvertyns'kyi should be added to the list of possible authors, alongside Kysil and Drevyns'kyi.[18] The *Antimaxia* refutes that argument with the declaration that all souls are equal before God: Polish law might punish the murder of a noble and a peasant differently, but the laws of heaven do not. The theme was a common one in Polish political and religious writing. In the sixteenth century, Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski warned that excluding the lower classes from Polish society represented a danger to the state.[19] Religious thinkers of the Counter-Reformation, including Piotr Skarga, also favored better consideration of the lower classes.[20] The author of the *Antimaxia*, however, only needed to counter the argument that the wishes and rights of the nobles should be paramount. Obviously, he resorts to arguments about the equality of the laws of heaven and the "millions" of Uniate souls bound for salvation because he realizes that the arguments of the *Dyskurs* about the preference of Volhynian nobles for Orthodoxy were very effective in the "Nobles' Commonwealth." He shows this by his incidental remark that even the author of the *Dyskurs* admits that there are Uniate nobles in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The insistence in the *Antimaxia* that the Union of Brest was the only solution possible for the Ruthenian church demonstrates how strong Catholic opposition was to any renegotiation of the terms of the Union. The author of the *Antimaxia* saw the Orthodox hierarchy of the years 1620 to 1632 as the illegitimate creation of the

[18] Prince Hryhorii Chetvertyns'kyi, the active Orthodox political and cultural leader, is known to have been a Uniate in 1603 (see *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, p. 120). Yet Adam Kysil, too, may have been a Uniate for a short time in the late 1620s and early 1630s. Given Kysil's defense of Orthodox rights at the Volhynian dietines of 1632 and at the Election Diet, he is the more likely candidate for author of the *Dyskurs.* See Sysyn, "Adam Kysil and the Synods of 1629," pp. 833–34, for a discussion of Kysil's religious views in 1629–1632.

[19] For Frycz-Modrzewski's condemnation of different penalties for the murder of a nobleman versus that of a commoner, see "De poena homicidii," in his *Orationes*, ed. Kazimierz Kumaniecki (n.p., 1954) (*Opera omnia*, 2).

[20] On Skarga's social thought, see Janusz Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga: Szermierz kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1978), pp. 193–213.

"brigand" patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophanes, who had entered the Commonwealth "by stealth." Set against the institutional, cultural, and spiritual revival of Ruthenian Orthodoxy, that attitude destroyed any possibility of the religious accommodation for which the author of the *Dyskurs* seems to have hoped. The *Antimaxia* reflects a hardening line that would soon end religious tolerance in the Commonwealth. Even if the author's claim to be a layman was false, that he could hope to persuade lay nobles by religiously intolerant argumentation reflects a new climate of religious zealotry among the nobles of the Commonwealth.

In the short term, Catholic intolerance frustrated King Władysław's attempt to restore religious peace in the Ruthenian lands by permitting two legal Ruthenian churches—one Orthodox and one Uniate—to exist after 1632. In the long term, Catholic intolerance elicited a corresponding Orthodox reaction, and the ensuing religious enmity was one of the main reasons for the Commonwealth's failure to reach a compromise with Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi.

Harvard University

ANTIMAXIA

albo dyskurs na dyskurs wydany od kogoś podczas relatiej PP. posłów wołyńskich w Łucku pro die 16 Augusti, Anno Domini 1632.*

* The document is published in accordance with the rules for early modern Polish historical documents prescribed in K. Lepszy, ed., *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław, 1953). This system permits occasional standardization of orthography in favor of modern usage, while retaining phonetic and lexical characteristics. Abbreviations have been written out in full and modern punctuation and paragraphing have been adopted. The publication is based on the copy in BCz, Cracow MS 373 (Cod. chart. saec. XVII–XVIII. "Acta sub Vladislaw IV"), pp. 470–81. BCz MS 124, pp. 587–601, contains an eighteenth-century copy probably made from MS 373. We have used this copy as an aid in deciphering difficult passages in BCz, MS 373. A few other passages are obscure or garbled. When possible, quotations in the text have been identified. For biblical quotations, citations by book, chapter, and verse are given according to the Clementine Vulgate. It would appear that the author frequently quoted the Bible from memory, for he paraphrases and changes grammatical forms at will. We thank Dr. Donald McCabe of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, for his assistance in identifying classical texts.

Co iest na świecie milszego, co pod słońcem uczciwszego, co użytecznieiszego na ziemi, iako wolnemu szlachcicowi o wolności swoiei radzić, o niei się pytać, a przy niei nie tylko powagą, ale et armis stawać. Dwa bowiem punkta, na których się zasadza wolność szlachecka, znajduią się.

Pierwszy punkt, prawa i swobody; wtóry, wolność konscientiej, to iest religia. Pierwszy punkt nie tylko że iest dobry, ale i użyteczny bardzo. Bo kto się przypatrzy, czemu Rzeczpospolita nasza Polska tak długo in ordine suo trwała i dotąd trwa i rozszerzywszy krwią swoią prawa i wolności swoie, przy onych trwaiąc, ni w czym onym nie uwłoczeli, i to nam, potomkom swym, świętobliwie zostawiwszy, tym przykładem nas do naśladowania siebie i amplifikowania onych pociągneli. Zaczym nie tylko słuszna, ale i rzecz piękna iest paterna imitari et fovere iura. W czym immortalitas famae prześwietnych narodów Korony Polskiej gruntownie zostawa. Azaż tego teraz świeżym przykładem osierociała ojczyzna nie doznawa po synach Koronnych? Gdy w razie takowym w iakowym versatur respublica nie najduie się żaden takim bydź, iakim ieden w zacnej a starej monarchii nalazł się patricius,[1] który, gdy zguba minabatur ojczyźnie, voce non rauca zawołał na kolegów swoich: Cives o cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est virtus post nummos. Czemuż nie znajduie się żaden syn Koronny taki? Bo nie post nummos, ale ante nummos virtus w narodzie naszym. Ten bowiem tak zawżdy iako i teraz nie tylko dostatki swe waży y spenduie dla całości miłej ojczyzny, ale i dla podźwignienia zdrowia onej i zdrowie swoie niesie, chcąc i życząc krwią pieczętować wolności, swobody i prawa swoie.

Drugi punkt nie iest poślednieiszy, na którym się zasadza wolność sumnienia, to iest religii. O tej, iako iest miła każdemu, nie tylko pióro, ale i ięzyk exprimere tego nie może. A co, proszę, nasiało różnych opinii w religiach? Tylko tej miłość. A co zgodę iednako wierzącym przynosi? Tej miłość. A co w postronnych państwach krwawego Marsa wzbudza i opłakanych czasów w tej ojczyźnie naszej? Tej tylko miłość. Zaczym nie masz się zaprawdę czemu dziwować, że kto miłuie wolność konscientiej i religię swoią. A zatym, każdy syn Koronny nie wtórym punktem ale pierwszym rozumie bydź wolność religii.

Dawszy Ich Mościom Panom dysydentom różnym pokói, ad propositum dyskursu na dyskurs o religii Greckiei przystępuiąc rozumiem. A lubo politykiem będąc do Ewangelii udam się, że dwoiakim sposobem o duszę swą dbać potrzeba każdemu, raz bowiem onę człowiek ma miłować, drugi raz zaś onę nienawidzieć. Mówi bowiem Zbawiciel nasz: Qui non odit animam suam, perdet illam. [cf. John 12:25]. Secus w Piśmie świętym przez Mojżesza Bóg mówi: Custodite sollicite animas vestras. [Deut. 4:15]. Kto bowiem strzeże onei, stara się aby ni na czym nie

[1] The manuscripts read "Petricius."

szwankowała. Toć znać, że cum praecustodia aliqua trzeba miłować i dbać o duszę swoię. Ieżeli bowiem na przykład taką miłość oświadczać duszy swoiej mamy, iako niegdy oni Epicurei, zasadzaiąc błogosławieństwo swoie na rzeczach doczesnych, mówili, kochaiąc się w duszy swoiej: Ede, bibe, anima mea; post mortem nulla voluptas. A cóż to za rozum i kochanie?

Jeżeli też duszę swą puścić w zawód, aby latała różnych opinii trzymaiąc się i żeby na dwu drzewach usieść mogła, nie iest to diligere animam suam. I dlatego, gdzie takim biegunem iest dusza i opływa w rzeczach rozkosznych, opinie różne przed się biorąc, takową odisse potrzeba według słów Chrystusowych i angariare ratione ipsa et intellectu, aby nie tylko saperet co niebieskiego iest, ale oraz i circa unam Ecclesiam Orthodoxam zostawała non vagabunda. Toć baczemy na oko, że fidem et animam wiązać każdy z nas powinien circa unam Ecclesiam, nie circa duas Ecclesias, a ten zgoła, który prawdziwie duszę swą miłuie, a nie nawidzi zaś onej w rzeczach nieprzystoinych. A lubo Paweł święty kościoły in numero plurali liczył, in omni Ecclaesiae doceo, ale iednak unum in Christo ovile rozumiał. Przyzna mi to każdy dobry Katolik i Rusin i rzecze, że tak iest. Ale według dyskursisty naród ruski cum Ecclesia Romana ma bydź unitus, ale non unus. Zaczym nie iest to unia, ale przeobrażenie nieiakieś unum in aliud zgoła, unius generatio, alterius corruptio.

Wydziwić sie ia nie mogę dyskursom takowego dyskursisty, który nie będąc z Panem naszym in Monte Tabor, o przemienieniu i przeobrażeniu iakimsi koncept czyni Religii Greckiej w Religię Rzymską. Jeżeli mieszkaiąc in tribus tabernaculis wyczytał to, tych Chrystus budować Apostołom nie dopuścił, a na ostatek et visionem hanc uczniom powiadać zakazał [cf. Matt. 17:1–9, Mark 9:2–10, Luke 9:28–36]. Czemuż? Bo nim Ducha Świętego wzięli Apostołowie pewnie powiadaiąc inszym o tak wielkiej tajemnicy Syna Bożego pisaliby byli o przeobrażeniu niepotrzebne (iako to ten) koncepty. Zaczym ieżeli Apostołom kazano o tym milczeć, daleko nam świeckim mówić o tym trudno i dyskurować iako się po wielu miejscach Kościół Boży będąc sława w Chrystusie iednym i iedna onego owczarnia [cf. John 10:16].

Prawda, że unia iest to rzecz przystoina i użyteczna, dwuch albo siłu zgodne pozwolenie. Unus zaś simpliciter una anima et unum cor. Jako na przykład Pismo święte wspomina, że conglutinata erat anima David animae Jonathae [cf. Kings I:18:1], zaczym a kto nie uważy, iako to tam wdzięczna i piękna unia była. Wspomina zaś w Dzieiach Apostolskich, gdy tak mówi: Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una [Acts 4:32]. Takiej zaprawdę unii potrzebuie Chrystus Kościoła swego, to iest aby byli wszyscy uniti in defensione Ecclesiae, uni zaś in propagatione fidei et obedientiae. Na dworze cesarskim albo królewskim służą iedni dworzanie w wielkich sukniach chodząc, drudzy w krótkich; iedni starzy, drudzy młodzi. Iedni radzi iadaią chleb kwaśny, drudzy przaśny. Języki te różne, natiie różne, ceremonie różne, a przecie iednego cesarza znaią za pana. Tak Włoch, iako Hiszpan, Francuz, iako Niemiec, Polak, iako

Rusin o dostoiność pana swego zastawiaią się iednako. Czemuż? Bo in multitudine uniti, a in corde uni. U dobrych bowiem sług, gdzie idzie o honor pański, unum nolle et unum velle bydź ma. Jeżeli się bowiem te dwie rzeczy w nich <nie> najduią, heretyk taki każdy iest i zdrajcą pana swego zostawa. Pięknie o tym napisał Seneca in Troade:

Si paena petitur quae peti gravior potest,
Famulare collo nobili iubeat iugum servire liceat
[*Troades*, 746–48]

Cesarzowi Niebieskiemu servire regnare est, ale kto mu służy szyię swoię iuż oddał pod iarzmo Chrystusowe, lubo o nim sam powiada Zbawiciel, że lekkie iest [cf. Matt. 11:29–30]. A iaka może bydź kara większa na takiego od Boga, który in multitudine credentium nie ma unam animam et unum cor i dlatego sam rzekł, że nemo manum mittens ad aratrum et aspiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei [Luke 9:62]. To iuż tu evidenter baczemy, że uniti et uni służąc na dworze Cesarza Niebieskiego bydź wszyscy mamy, którzyśmy w Kościele iego nie są przychodniami, ale mieszkańcami, to iest według Pawła świętego domestici Dei. Zaprawdę tedy w dyskursie promulgowany koncept iakoby transire ex ritu Graeco in ritum Romanum panowie unici usiłowali i nieiako przyobrażali się stawać <nie> tylko na placu swym ale et indiscrete, iest napisany. O której dyskretii pięknie angielski doktor mówi, że discretio inquit pertinet ad prudentiam et est genetrix, custos, moderatrixque virtutum.[2] Azaż to prudentia z iednego Kościoła czynić dwa? Z iednej głowy czynić dwie, albo trzy? Nie iest to discreta prudentia, ale raczej głupstwo. Azaż to iest et virtutis to co się nie najduie, bliźniemu zadawać? Nie iest i to zaprawde virtutis. Radby tedy każdy baczny takowego dyskursistę widział, bo

Intererit multum Davus[3] ne loquatur an Heros,
Maturus ne senex, an adhuc florente iuventa
Fervidus, an matrona potens, an sedula nutrix,
Mercator ne vagus, cultor ne virentis agelli,
Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutrix an Argos.
[Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 114–18]

Protestatii autora przed wszystkim narodem ruskim taka intitulatia iest, którą dyskursista niedawnego czasu do rąk PP unitom oddał. O, gdyby z teraźnieiszym dyskursem komparowana była, co tam za mutatia. Uważaiąc obstupescere każdy musi. Co wszystko sprawą twoią nieszczęsną, ty inconstantia sprawuiesz, którąś zawżdy iest speciale peccatum imprudentis deficiens a perficiendo bonum propositum, iako Tomasz święty mówi.[4]

[2] Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, III sententiarum, ds 33 qu 2 ar 5 co/6, Roberto Busa, *S. Thomae Opera Omnia* (Stuttgart, 1980), p. 184.
[3] The preferred text is Deus.
[4] This quotation does not appear in the concordance to the works of Thomas Aquinas.

Jeżeli w tymże repugnant kto prawdziwy wiąże się przy niesprawiedliwym ma to sobie za cnotę i za straż prawa i wolności szlacheckiej. Takich media nigdy nie potrzebuje wolność szlachecka, które per fas et nefas praw każąc authoritatem i prawa Kościoła Bożego nie nabywaią. I owszem, gdy przy wolności Kościelnej oponowała się, zawżdy przy prawach swoich skutecznie i cale zostawała. Nie iest to bowiem cnota, nie iest to szczerość ku ojczyźnie miłej szpecić prawa starożytne i wolności kościelne, a tą drogą do poprawy praw i swobód szlacheckich i koby przychodzić, widzi to Bóg wszystko. Nie darmo poeta napisał, że. Iuppiter arce sua totum per spectat[5] in orbem. [Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 85]. O czym mówi Isidorus: Quidquid, inquit, boni feceris cum discretione virtus est, quidquid sine discretione gesseris vitium est, virtus enim indiscreta vitio imputatur.[6] Aza to discretio virtutis zadawać, że panowie unici consecrant Corpus Christi w chlebie przaśnym, to iest w opłatku? Zaprawdę, że ta bajka nie virtuti ale vitio imputatur. Aza nie wiedzą i nie czytaią kanonów unici? Zaczym niech każdy rozumie, że wiedzą coby za tym pochodziło. Ale ta inutilis questio solvitur zgoła silentio. Sufficit bowiem, że gorzałką ani iabłecznym kwasem nie celebruią unici, iako się gdzieindziej najduie passim. Jeżeli unici Romanam Eucharistiam (iako pisze dyskursista), unici distribuunt Romanis, tedy distribuunt consecratam et Romano presbytero i to in defectu presbyteri Romani i iużeż to dlatego iest nie iakieś przeobrażenie i unius generatio alterius corruptio? Toć, miły dyskursisto, nie iednaby baba przy połogach pań obróciłaby się w księdza, bo iej wolno in defectu księdza et in periculo mortis niewiniątko ochrzcić. A przecie baba po staremu babą zostanie. Lubo to większa rzecz iest in actu babić i exercere Sacramentum, niżeli poświęconą i gotową Eucharistię od księdza rzymskiego greckiemu kapłanowi distribuere in defectu ludziom ritus Romani? Przez cóż się tedy spodziewać, że tandem aliquando secundum conceptum et prophetiam dyskursisty penitus w Rzymiany obróci się ksiądz[7] ruski i religio ich Graeca exturpabitur i przeobrażenie iako in ritum Romanum. Pięknie o takowym, który to śmie udawać, prorok Micheas mówi, że nox illi pro visione est, et tenebrae pro divinatione [Micah 3:6].

Powiadaią i zgadzaią się na to wszyscy, którzy ad perfectionem tendunt, ludzie doskonali i święci, że duszny nieprzyiaciel, diabeł, ma nailepsze do łowów swoich przeklętych czasy dwa na człeka, aby go schołdował do siebie przez grzech, to iest w południe i w nocy. O czym psalmista święty napisał nie bez przyczyny: A sagitta inquit volante in die, a negotio perambulante in tenebris ab incursu et daemonio meridiano [Psalm 90:6]. Przyznać mi to każdy musi, że wszyscy czarnoksiężnicy i wszystkie czarow-

5 The true reading is "cum spectat."

6 The passage attributed here to Isidore of Seville has been assigned by modern scholars to Ambrosiaster, epistle 4, 6.

7 BCz, MS 124 has "naród" instead of "ksiądz."

nice od diabła w nocy visiie i prognostykowania różne, a rzadko albo nigdy prawdziwie o różnych rzeczach odnoszą. W południe zaś co za siatka na ludzie tego piekielnego łowca! Na te słowa ab incursu et daemonio meridiano pięknie Bellarminus[8] pisze, że, pychą prawi, i wielkim o sobie rozumieniem naisposobniej na ten czas czart łowi duszę ludzką, zwłaszcza gdy owo po obiedzie w południe kto sobie brzeczką podleie, z której takowej duszy, albo raczej z ust takowego człeka nic inszego wychodzić nie może, tylko iakieś sagittae volantes in die, to iest obmowy szczypiące na sławie, złe opiniie, dyskursy przeciwne Kościołowi, potwarzy rozmaite, a z krzywdą bliźniego. Jeżeli tedy prognostykarz ten od czarta iako a patre mendatii w nocy miał revelatie o takowej o iakiej pisze transfiguratii Greckiego Kościoła w Rzymski? Toć niepewna wróżka, auferet bowiem Dominus ab Israel prophetam et hariolum [cf. Eze. 23:48]. Wiarę też temu a kto może dać bezpiecznie? Ponieważ Pismo święte wspomina, że anima quae declinaverit ad hariolos et crediderit illis, et fornicata fuerit cum eis ponam faciem meam contra eam, et interficiam eam de medio populi mei [cf. Levit. 20:6]. Jeżeli też to daemonium meridianum tę wróżkę sprawiło? A co ma z ust człeka siła o rozumie swoim rozumieiącego wychodzić? Ieno potwarzy iako strzały ogniste. Ale przeciwko komuż te strzały uderzały? Słuchaicie, proszę. Od owieczki przeciwko pasterzom, od ucznia przeciwko mistrzom. Ale wspomni sobie, duszo takowa, na ono, co Levitici rzeczono, że nie będziesz, prawi, potwarcą ani poszczuwaczem między ludem i nie będziesz stał przeciwko krwie bliźniego twego [cf. Levit. 19:16–18]. Łacnoć ślepego persuasią swą w dół prowadzić, pracy około tego nie trzeba, łacnóć to prostemu udać człowiekowi to, czemu każdy mądry wiary dać nie może, uwierzy prętko, wylatać zaś konceptami wysoko contra Ecclesiam, nie iuż to zwyciężyć. Niech ieno zajrzy takowy bletman ślepy w oczy dobrze Kościołowi świętemu, obaczy że Ecclesia terribilis est, ut castrorum acies ordinata. Zaczym zwiniesz chorągiew, uciekniesz, hetmanie, w stronę, i przywódzco piekielny. A wojsko twoie ślepe samo sie łbami swymi ieden o drugiego tłukąc pozabiiaią. Ale szczęśliwy zaprawdę ten, który miernie wylatywa z rozumem swym i godnością, którą mu Pan Bóg dał nie na potwarz, ale na prawdę onę obracaiąc.

> medioque ut limite curras,
> Icare, te moneo, ne si demisior ibis
> Unda graves pennas, si celsior ignis adurat.
> Inter utrumque vola.
>
> [Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII, 203–206]

[8] Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine (1542–1621). See "Commentaria in Psalmos," Psalmus XC, ver. 6, in *Opera omnia,* ed. Justinus Fèvre, vol. 11 (Paris, 1874; rpt. Frankfurt, 1965), pp. 119–20.

Nie masz nic naidroższego i coby między wielu rzeczy mądrych chwalono od ludzi mądrych, iako milczenie. Jako bowiem to wielkie cnoty za sobą przynosi, tak świegotliwy ięzyk nigdy nic dobrego sprawić nie może. Zaprawdę, że tak bez obrzysków rzekę, virtutem silentii Amiclas[9] perdidit (ut vulgus pospolicie mówi). Prudens bowiem Pismo święte mówi in tempore illo tacebit, quia dies mali sunt [Amos 5:13]. A co to za prudentia, kiedy sie dom zapali, a ieszcze podeń ognia z inąd podniecać?

Na koronatii przeszłej summa authoritate regia rzeczy Religii Greckiej uspokoiono. A znowu ich konceptami teraz trząść i annihilować pragnąc na elekcji pana nowego, discordię wzniecać w sercach ludzkich, rzeczy niesłuszne udaiąc? A ieszcze w ten czas, kiedy dies mali sunt w ojczyźnie utrapionej naszej? Ah, obaczże się, cny narodzie ruski, ieżeli ten, co to tak rzeczy miesza, ex zelo religionis to czyni. Gdy wejzrzisz, ujzrzysz, że latet anguis in herba. O czym niżej. Piękny zaiste koncept pod praetextem wolności i praw szlacheckich Kościół mieszać Boży i trudnić. Ah, vae tibi Mater, quae genuisti virum rixae, virum discordiae in universa Ecclesia. O szabli, o kopii, a nie o kanonach zaprawdę nam świeckim dyskurować przystoina rzecz iest. A na coż nauczyciele mamy, gdy sami uczyć będziemy? Qui sophistice loquitur, odibilis est. Mówi Duch Święty: In omni defraudabitur non est illi a Domino data gratia, omni enim sapientia defraudatus est [cf. I Cor. 3:19–20].

Przypatruiąc się dalszemu konceptowi dyskursisty, który raz z Kościołem Florenckie Concilium trzyma, drugi raz ono burząc i zburzywszy iakąś powolną unię na potym obiecuie, azaż to człowiek? Nie człek, monstrum, przezacny narodzie ruski, pokazuie się. Patrz, co poeta napisał

> Quoque Chimaera iugo, mediis in partibus hircum,
> Pectus et ora leae, cavelam serpentis habebat.
> [Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IX, 647–48]

Dwoiakim albo rozdwoionym sercem zawżdy Bóg ohydził się, mówiąc: Vae vobis hypocritae [cf. Matt. 23:13–15, Luke 11:42–44], to iest, vae vobis duplici corde. Jeżeli trzyma dyskursista Concilium Florenckie, iako sam pisze o sobie, to unit. Jeżeli radzi bydź, aby nie była unia, czyniąc expectatie iakieisi nowej kiedyś przez schizmę unii i pociechę, to duplex iest corde, to iest nie unit.

> Quid facis, Oenone? Quid arenae semina mandas?

[9] In ancient geography, a town in Laconia, Greece, situated about three miles south of Sparta, the legendary seat of Tyndareus. "According to a legend, the inhabitants of Amyclae had been so often alarmed by fake reports of the hostile approach of Spartans that all mention of the subject was forbidden; hence, when they did come, no one dared announce the fact, and the town was captured. 'Amyclean silence' thus became a proverb" (*The New Century Cyclopedia of Names*, ed. Clarence L. Barnhart, vol. 1 [New York, 1954], p. 146). Here, then, the proverb in quoted inappropriately.

Non profecturis littora bubus aras?

[Ovid, *Heroides*, 5, 115–16]

Odpuścić mi racz. Nie z tej beczki, dyskursisto, począć trzeba było. Aza przez grzech do łaski Bożej kto przychodzi? Conclusum apud theologos, nie przez grzech, ale przez pokutę za grzech. Znieść iedność Kościoła Bożego Rzymskiego, z Kościołem Greckim funditus, rzecz święta, rzecz dobra? A potym rebellis bydź Namiestnikowi X. Apostolskiego, nie iest to gościniec do łaski Bożej, ale grzech obiecywać z Kościołem unię powolej. Azaż to rzecz słuszna? Gruszka to na wierzbie. Poszło to zaprawdę coś na to, dajmy sobie po gębie, a potym poiednamy się. Nie na prazniku to zaprawdę zwody takie z Kościołem Bożym czynić. Ale nie dziw, że wysokim rozumem zabrnąć musiał ten dyskursista głęboko w opinii swoiej, bo

et fluctus dure siccare marinos
Atque mortali detrahere astra manu.
[Cf. Propertius 2.32.49–51][10]

Nie z inszej tedy beczki, tylko z tej, w tej różności niektórych z Kościołem Rzymskim maią wypływać sposoby do uspokoienia, które dawno ocyrklowane są Kanonami świętemi, ieżeli w czym nie dosyć się dzieie w zgodzie Wschodniego i Zachodniego Kościoła. Dwoiacy są episcopi w narodzie zacnym ruskim teraz, iedni unici, drudzy nie unici. Dwie milczeć maią, między pasterzami sporka. To per istam regulam artykuły na sejmikach pisane maią ich iednać? To poselska izba ma ich pogodzić? Owoż druga, patrzcie, chimera. Niechai, proszę, weźmie naród ruski kanon Sardyńskiego Concilium trzeci, który taki w sobie iest: gdzie dwai biskupi spór między sobą mieć będą o rzecz taką, któraby się ocierała o wolność Kościoła Bożego i iego prawa, z żadnej prowincii inszej biskupi, to iest przychodniowie, nie maią ich sądzić.[11] Ale onego królestwa biskupi ziechać się

[10] The full text runs as follows:
"tu prius et fluctus potaris siccare marinos,
altaque mortali deligere astra manu,
quam facere, ut nostrae nolint peccare puellae."

[11] The text should read "Sardycki." The Council of Sardica (modern Sofia) was convoked by the emperors Constans I and Constantius II, and was held in the year 342 [or 344]. Its task was to reexamine the case of Athanasius of Alexandria, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepiades of Gaza, who had been deposed at the Council of Tyre in 335. All had found refuge in Rome with Pope Julius. The Council promulgated 20 canons that were handed down in all the Greek collections and were frequently attributed to the Council of Nicea. Canons 3, 4, and 5 describe the right of appeal for bishops, particularly the appeal to Rome. Canon 3 forbade bishops to transfer from one province to another; in a dispute between bishops a judge might not be brought in from another province; and it was illegitimate to visit or seek the assistance of the secular court (canons 7–9). Canon 4 stated that a deposed bishop who appealed to Rome should not be replaced until judgment was passed. Canon 5 acknowledged the right of the bishop of Rome to receive and judge an appeal, to

na . . .[12] maią i onych sądzić. A ieżeli kontenci nie będą z sądu biskupów prowincii swoiej, tedy biskup rzymski sądzić ich ma (toć nie carogrodzki), i dalej: A choćby osądzili oni biskupi sprawę dobrze inter dissidentes episcopos, tedy przecie biskupowi rzymskiemu o tym znać dać maią, któremu wolno i komisarzów swoich posłać na tę sprawę. Toć taką rzeczą synodu trzeba, nie sejmiku, pewnie nie izby poselskiej. Toć papież decydować ma kontrowersie, nie carogrodzki biskup. Toć zatym ani ipse rex, który subiacet obedientiae S. Ecclesiae Catholicae, odmieniać inaczej nie może. Aza król polski unitis cum Ecclesia Romana daie władyctwa i insze beneficia? Życzyłbym, aby sobie przeczytał ten dyskursista formalia verba z Statutu Herburtowego de incorporatione Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae cum Regno Poloniae, tempore Vladislai Jagellonis, którego są takie wyraźne słowa: Praeterea praedictis libertatibus, privilegiis et gratiis, tantum modo illi barones et nobiles terrae Lithuanicae debent uti et gaudere, quibus arma et clenodia nobilium Regni sunt concessa et cultores Christianae religionis, Romanae Ecclesiae subiecti et non schismatici et alii infideles.[13]

Świętej pamięci Król Władysław Polski i Węgierski dał specialny przywilei Russii, że ci tylko maią gaudere privilegiis, którzy są cum Ecclesia Romana uniti, co in praesentia principum Regni Poloniae et Hungariae dał. Czego są autentyki i oblaty w pewnych grodach ruskich. Dosyć zaprawdę prawa, choć go i więcej ieszcze iest, które iawnie i wyraźnie tłumi wzwyż pomienione koncepty dyskursisty sławnego.

Jest ieszcze niepośledni w tymże dyskursie koncept, że władyci unici sunt sine ovibus pastores. Odpowiada się, iż wzwyż pomieniony kanon i prawa regni dane a regibus iaśnie to oświadczaią, że są własnymi pasterzami unici. Niech ieno sobie wspomni dyskursista, lubo czyta, doczyta się, że nie carogrodzki biskup Słowaków ięzykiem słowiańskim do wiary Chrześciańskiej nawrócił, ale biskup rzymski. Toć per ostium, nie clandestine, weszli unici do owczarnie Chrystusowej w Rusi. Qui enim non intrat per ostium ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro [John 10:1].

Dawszy pokoi dawnieiszemu wdarciu sie nieunitów w Cerkiew Bożą, wspomnij ieno sobie świeżo, dyskursisto, iakimi drzwiami on patriarcha pod wojnę Chocimską wlazł do owczarni Chrystusowej. Nie z Konstantynopola, ale z Jeruzalem, iakom powiedział. Zaczym święcił władyki, odprawował munia wszystkie patriarsze. A kto mu pozwolił tego i kazał, proszę? Nikt. Toć nie per ostium wszedł, przeto est ille fur et latro [cf. John 10:1]. A złodzi kogoż miał na świecie? Tylko takich iako i sam,

---

send the case to be adjudicated by neighboring bishops, or to send or designate the judge. The Council sent an encyclical letter to all the churches describing its decisions. The synodal canons, though recognized in the West as regulating relations between metropolitan sees, were not accepted in the Eastern churches.

12 The text is illegible here. It probably had a word denoting "council."

13 The text is taken from the statute of the Union of Horodlo of 1413. See *Volumina legum*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1732), p. 69.

którzy iako świnie głupim pyskiem swoim ryią owczarnię Chrystusową teraz. Słowa nię moje, ale Zbawiciela naszego.

Pytałbym się ieszcze dyskursisty tak wysoce mądrego, co u Boga za differentia między duszą szlachecką, a duszą chłopską, jeżeli iawno, iako wierzemy, i iednako za nich umarł Chrystus na Krzyżu. Powie mi, że zacnieisza iest dusza szlachecka, bo tym w dyskursie swoim probat, że szlachty nie masz unitów, ergo władyci zostaią sine ovibus pastores. Odpowiadam ci na to, o stulte et duro corde, nie polskieć to konstytutie u Boga, według których w Polszcze droższa u prawa szlachecka dusza i grzywny większe za nie, niżeli za prostaka, ubogiego chłopka. Czytaiże konstytutie Boską, aliści obaczysz, co się z bogaczem dzieie, a co z ubogim Łazarzem [cf. Luke 16:19–31]. Wertuj dalej te konstytutie, a wyczytasz, co mówi Zbawiciel. Facilius est, inquit, camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam divitem in Regnum Caelorum [Matt. 19:24]. Toć tedy nie na szlachcie samej zawisło pasterstwo, i więcej czasem iedna dusza prostaka w Kościele Bożym sprawi, aniżeli tysiąc szlachty i mędrców. Abscondit bowiem Deus taiemnicę swoia, a sapientibus, a revelavit eam parvulis [cf. Matt. 11:25 and Luke 10:21]. Cóż tedy teraz iest większego? Czyia owczarnia gromadnieisza? Czy ze stem familii szlacheckich, nie unitów, iako sam dyskursista pisze? Czy z milionami dusz prostaków i szlachty pod iurisditią władyków i unitów? Łacno, dyskursisto, policzyłeś swoie szlacheckie familie. Ale zapociłbyś czoła i pomyliłbyś arytmetykę, wypisałbyś kredkę, rachuiąc po wszystkich diocesiach ojców władyków dusze im od Boga powierzone. To sto familii szlachty od unii odpadło? A Bóg przy unitach stoiąc mówi, iako niekiedy Eliaszowi rzekł, który rozumiał się sam bydź opuszczonym: Reliqui, inquit, mihi septem millia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal [Kings III 19:18]. Są tedy i pasterzami unici, maią i owce. Ale i do tego specialiku przystąpiwszy, to iest PP szlachty, azaż ich nie masz napisanych siłu w regestr bractwa N. Panny w cerkwi Włodzimierskiej, którego bractwa i sam ten dyskursista obranym bywał? A że w Litwie są szlachta unici i przyznawa to dyskursista, tedy imieniem wszystkich PP. unitów jegomości za tę łaskę dziękuię.

Patrzże tu, prześwietny narodzie ruski, iako się ten twoi apostoł, a unitów apostata, w dyskursie swoim pomieszał! Pięknie takim w brew dawa sławny pisarz Ficinius, gdy mówi, że disputando turpissimum est, quin ad id facile deducatur ut saepe ipse sibi repugnet.[14] Przypomina też tenże dyskursista, rzecz śmiechu godna, że on we wszystkim Władyctwie Włodzimierskim sam ieden iedną owieczką był, i nazywa to, że była na on czas strojna unia i dokłada tego, że sam ieden wspierał Cerkiew unii świętej. Nieszczęsny, że tak rzekę, filarze zgniły Cerkwie Bożej. A na coż się chwalisz, kiedyś sie obalił i ruina z ciebie w domu Bożym zostawa? A wieszże co z rumem czynią, gdy się co murowanego obali? Wyrzucą i

[14] This may refer to Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), an Italian Platonic philosopher.

wyszufluią go precz i prochu iego nie cierpią. I dlatego na takich rzeczono: Qui non audierit Ecclesiam, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus [Matt. 18:17]. Vicisti Galilee iako on przeklęty apostata Julian niegdy mówił, żeś z motyką porwał się na słońce, to iest na Kościół, matkę twoię, któremu rebellizowałeś, która cię (mówię, matka) piersiami swoimi żywiła, słowem prawdy i miłości braterskiej napawaiąc. Już tu tedy, sławny narodzie ruski, uważyć racz niestateczność dyskursisty tego, którego nie zelus religionis, ale privata, to iest caro et sanguis do takiej mieszaniny przywodzi i przywiódł. Podobno ten dyskursista pomniał na radę onego poety i często sobie czytał wierszyk on

> Cave ne gratis hic tibi constet amor
>
> [Ovid, *Amores* I 8, 72]
>
> Quid dabit, ille tibi magno sit maior Homero
>
> [ibid. I 8, 62]

Patrz, narodzie ruski, dyskursista przeciwko unii biie, Florenckie zaś Concilium trzyma. To znowu unit zgoła.

> Quod illi placuit spernit, reperit quod nuper omisit.
> Destruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.
>
> [Horace, *Epistulae* I 1, 98, 100]

A iuż tego wszystkiego dowiodszy, co niesłusznie dyskursista napisał, et cum gravi suo peccato sparsit, przyidzie mi onemu życzyć upamiętania dusznego, iakoż nic nie wątpię, że tandem nawróci się do Boga. Pięknie bowiem mówi Origenes: Cum, inquit, ceciderit iustus, non prosternitur, non permanebit in peccato, sed exiliet cito, tanquam damulae ex retibus et tanquam avis de laqueo.[15] Toć to iest zaprawdę prudentis Boga obraziwszy prętko powstać, a stać się znowu nie zgniłym, ale dobrze umocnionem filarem Cerkwie Bożej prawdziwej.

> Cum mora non tuta est, totis incumbere remis
> Utile et admisso subdere calcar equo.
>
> [Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* II, 731–32]

Szpetna to rzecz człowiekowi mądremu gdzie o duszę idzie, mówić z onym Terencjuszem, że tot me impediunt curae, quae meum animum divorse trahunt [Terence, *Adria* 260]. Zaczym przed narodem ruskim dic, że ego portentum vestrum quomodo feci? A ujrzysz, dyskursisto, że dabit tibi Dominus cor unum, et spiritum novum tribuet tibi in visceribus tuis [Ezek. 11:19]. A pro conclusione obierai sobie, czy z trochą szlachty, która nie słucha Kościoła iść do piekła? Czy z gminem prostych ludzi w iedności Kościoła będących pójść do nieba?

A ty, prześwietny narodzie ruski, expurga vetus fermentum [1 Cor. 5:7], gdzie się bowiem miesza kwas, zły tam napoi bywa, i za serce ujmuie, ale w słodkości serca życz sobie iedności z Kościołem świętym, którą niech da tobie Bóg.

Amen

15 Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254).

"Dulce est et fumos videre Patriae" — Four Letters by Simiaon Połacki*

PETER A. ROLLAND

To the memory of
Michael Rolland, Sr. (1914–1982)

Simiaon Połacki (Simeon Polockij, Samuił Sitnianovič-Piatroŭski; 1629–1680) is a historical figure both well known and obscure. Born of Orthodox parents in Polish-ruled Połack (Polotsk), a student of the Mohyla Collegium in Kiev and later of a Jesuit institution, Połacki became one of the most influential disseminators of Polish and neo-Latin culture in Moscow following his move there in 1663 or 1664. While the public persona is generally well known, there are many lacunae in our knowledge of Połacki's private life.[1]

* The materials for this article were gathered during my stay in Moscow in November-December 1980. I am grateful to those institutions and individuals who facilitated my work, especially the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and its Gorky Institute of World Literature.

[1] Ierofej Tatarskij, *Simeon Polockij (ego žizn' i dejatel'nost'): Opyt issledovanija iz istorii prosveščenija i vnutrennoj cerkovnoj žizni vo vtoruju polovinu XVII veka* (Moscow, 1886), and L. N. Majkov, "Simeon Polockij," in *Očerki iz istorii russkoj literatury XVII–XVIII vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1889), pp. 1–162, remain the only comprehensive chronicles of Połacki's life. There are numerous studies of one or another aspect of his writing. Among them are V. Popov, *Simeon Polockij kak propovednik* (Moscow, 1886); N.F. Glokke, "*Rifmotvornaja psaltyr'* Simeona Polockogo i ee otnošenie k pol'skoj Psaltyri Jana Koxanovskogo," *Kievskie universitetskie izvestija*, no. 9 (1896), pp. 1–18; A.I. Beleckij (O.I. Bilec'kyj) "Stixotvorenija Simeona Polockogo na temy iz vseobščej istorii," *Sbornik Istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva pri Imperatorskom xar'kovskom universitete*, 21 (Kharkiv, 1914):587–668; idem, "Symeon Poloc'kyj ta ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo XVII viku," *Jubilejnyj zbirnyk na pošanu akad. D. I. Bahalija, Zbirnyk Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu Ukrajins'koji akademiji nauk*, no. 51 (Kiev, 1927), pp. 636–48; idem, "Povestvovatel'nyj èlement v 'Vertograde' Simeona Polockogo," in *Sbornik statej k sorokaletiju učenoj dejatel'nosti akad. A.S. Orlova*, ed. V.N. Peretc (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 325–34; I.P. Eremin, "Poètičeskij stil' Simeona Polockogo," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (Moscow and Leningrad), 6 (1948):125–37; Ryszard Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska* (Cracow, 1960), pp. 108–28; idem, "*Psałterz Rymowany* Symeona Połockiego a *Psałterz Dawidów* Jana Kochanowskiego," *Slavia Orientalis* 15, no. 1 (Warsaw, 1966):3–28; A.N. Robinson, "Zaroždenie koncepcii avtorskogo stilja v ukrainskoj i russkoj literaturax konca XVI-načala XVII vekov (Ivan Višenskij, Avvakum, Simeon Polockij)," in *Russkaja literatura na rubeže dvux*

Much information lies in his epistolary legacy, which is scattered throughout manuscripts now held by institutions in Moscow and Leningrad; no systematic catalogue or publication of these letters has been undertaken, although scholars have used them in studies of the man and his age.[2] The information about Połacki's family, his circle of friends, and his personal views that the letters convey can improve our understanding of this prominent alumnus of the Ukraine's first institution of higher learning.

Here I introduce four letters written by Połacki in Moscow to family and friends in Belorussia in late 1667 and early 1668. This was a period of intense activity for their author. Already court preacher, poet, and tutor to the royal children, Połacki also took part in the church council of 1666–68: he served as translator for Paisios Ligarides, Metropolitan of Gaza, as official chronicler of the council's proceedings, and as author of the official condemnation and refutation of the Old Belief, *Žezl" pravlenia.* As the leading representative of Kievan learning in Moscow, Połacki carried on a lively correspondence with other alumni and professors of the Mohyla collegium, such as Varlaam Jasyns'kyj and Lazar Baranovyč. As censor for Kiev publications, Połacki was instrumental in allowing the works of Baranovyč and other Kievans to be printed or disseminated in Moscow. The four letters presented here, then, were written by a person who enjoyed the confidence of both tsar

---

èpox, ed. A.N. Robinson (Moscow, 1971), pp. 33–83; Anthony Hippisley, "The Emblem in the Writings of Simeon Polockij," *Slavic and East European Journal* 15, no. 2 (1971): 167–83; idem, "Cryptography in Simeon Polockij's Poetry," *Russian literature* 5, no. 4 (1977): 389–402.

Both Tatarskij, *Simeon Polockij,* pp. 30–33, and Majkov, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie,* p. 2, agree that Połacki studied at the Mohyla Collegium in the latter half of the 1640s and at some Jesuit institution during the early 1650s. S.T. Golubev, "Otzyv o sočinenii V. O. Èingorna, *Očerki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII v. I. Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva z moskovskim pravitel'stvom v carstvovanie Alekseja Mixajloviča*" [Moscow, 1899], in *Zapiski Imp. akademii nauk po Istoriko-filologičeskomu otdeleniju* 6, no. 2 (1902): 113, maintains that the Jesuit institution is the famed "Academia" in Vilnius. K.V. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie na velikorusskuju cerkovnuju žizn'* (Kazan, 1914; reprinted, 1968), p. 380, agrees with Golubev and the others, but maintains that the matter has not been fully resolved.

2 Two of the letters (1 and 3) were first mentioned by Golubev, "Otzyv o sočinenii Eingorna," pp. 118–19; there he paraphrased and translated parts of them. The other two texts were mentioned by A.I. Beleckij, "Iz načal'nyx let literaturnoj dejatel'nosti Simeona Polockogo," in *Sbornik statej v čest' akad. A.I. Sobolevskogo* (Leningrad, 1928), p. 267, fn. 1, where he indicates that both letters were addressed to Utčycki.

and patriarch, and who stood at the very center of Russian political and religious life.

The letters (copies of the originals) are found in the Central State Archive of Early Acts (Moscow), fond 381, Moscow Synod Press Library Collection, MS 390. The manuscript as a whole is a miscellany in folio which originally belonged to the author's monastic superior in Połack, Ihnat Ijaŭlevič (Ignatij Ievlevič, 1619–1663/64). After his death the manuscript passed into Połacki's hands; hence it contains texts copied into it by Ijaŭlevič as well as significant numbers of Połacki's occasional verses, speeches, and letters. Three of the letters (1, 2, 3 in the appendix) are grouped together on folios $102^{v}-103^{r}$, while the last (4 in the appendix) is found on folio 112^{r}. Letters 1 and 3 are written in Polish, with a relatively small admixture of Latin and Ruthenian-Slavonic words, whereas 2 and 4 are in a richer macaronic idiom which is basically Polish and Latin in composition, with a number of Ruthenian-Slavonic words and phrases. Stylistically, they range from terse and straightforward (1, 4) to rhetorical and evasive (2, 3). All the texts are written in Połacki's cursive Latin script and are signed or initialed by him. Punctuation is not readily evident; spaces indicate the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next. There are no paragraphs. Three letters are dated and their addressees clearly identified (1, 3, 4). One is not dated, nor is the intended recipient clearly indicated (a marginal note notwithstanding). I will discuss first the three letters that require little or no explication, and then deal with the more problematic fourth.[3]

Letter 1 (appendix, pp. 177–78) is inscribed "From Moscow, A.D. 1667, October 9," and is addressed to the author's brother, "Łukasz Sitnianowicz-Piotrowski," a Połack burgher.[4] The

[3] In preparing the texts of the letter for publication I have modernized the spelling and punctuation as recommended in Konrad Górski, "Zasady transliteracji tekstów XVI i XVII wieku," in *Z Badań nad literaturą staropolską: Program i postulaty* (Wrocław, 1952), pp. 79–87. In referring to persons named in the critical literature, I have transliterated names in accordance with the presumed nationality of their bearer, providing variants where necessary.

[4] The compilers of *Russko-belorusskie svjazi vo vtoroj polovine XVII v. (1667–1686 gg.), Sbornik dokumentov* (Minsk, 1972), pp. 58–59, published a petition from Łukasz to the tsar requesting permission to return to Połack from Moscow, where he had visited his brother in February 1669. In the petition Łukasz is called "Lučka Petrovskoj, burgher of Połack (*Lučka Petrovskoj, meščanin polockoj*)." One can conclude that not all contact between the two brothers was severed—at least, not at this date.

language of the letter is Polish, with an admixture of Ruthenian-Slavonic ecclesiastical terms, and the style is laconic and direct. In the missive Połacki upbraids his brother for having foresaken the Orthodox faith that has nourished them both. Łukasz, not content with apostasy alone, had become a harsh adversary ("ciężki adwersarz") of his abandoned church. Połacki writes that he had long known of his brother's inclination to Catholicism, but had never understood that his sibling could also be harsh. Saying that his brother's actions have brought him pain, Połacki threatens to break off all relations ("ostatnie ode mnie czytasz") if the apostate does not mend his ways. The letter, brief and to the point, is eloquent testimony to Połacki's devotion to Orthodoxy.

Letter 3 (appendix, pp. 179–80) is dated simply "From Moscow, A.D. 1667" and is addressed to Połacki's brother-in-law, "Bazyli Włodzimierz Stefanowicz (Stephanowicz)." Although the letter is written in the same idiom as the one just discussed, it differs radically in style and tone. Whereas the first is concise, the second is verbose, pompous, and evasive. The reasons for the differences become obvious in reading the text.

First, the husband of Połacki's sister seems to have been a person of some standing. In a note Połacki refers to him as "pisarz miński," a rank not readily determinable (city clerk of Minsk, notary of Minsk, or even court chancellor of the Minsk palatinate are all possible). Secondly, Stefanowicz had written his wife's brother in a delicate family matter—to obtain a loan—and Połacki was obliged to respond. Unable to grant the request, Połacki was constrained to write a letter defending his refusal, but not offending the petitioner. Thus the first part of Połacki's letter extends wishes for good health and God's blessing of Stefanowicz's family, pious hopes for the repose of the soul of Stefanowicz's uncle, and assurances of God's benediction on the family endeavors. Then, coming to the point, Połacki writes concisely that he would gladly assist his brother-in-law, but that he has exhausted his funds in helping a cousin, "Jan Szeremet," who had been in Moscow three weeks previously, and in helping a brother, "Jan Piotrowski," whom he had just sent off at the time of writing ("i na ten czas pisania expedi").[5] Regretting that his circumstances are not now

[5] Tatarskij, *Simeon Polockij*, pp. 208–209, and Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, pp. 278, 285, both note that "Jan Piotrowski" settled permanently in Russia in 1669, and that shortly after his arrival he entered monastic life, taking the name Issakij.

what they had been, Połacki says that his present financial state permits him food and clothing appropriate to his vocation, but that he has not troubled about savings. In closing the letter Połacki asks his brother-in-law to consider his refusal justified and to be not in the least offended. The postscript testifies to a brilliant stroke of familial diplomacy: the monk writes that he sends his sister "a fraternal greeting and, as a sign of unchanged affection, ten ells of violet damask."

This letter not only exhibits the author's rhetorical skills: it informs us about Połacki's family life and social background, his position vis-à-vis other members of his family, and his ability to handle delicate issues with tact and diplomacy.

The clearly dated and addressed letter 4 (appendix, pp. 180–81) bears the notation "Given from the Capital, A.D. 1668, April 13"; the postscript notes that it was addressed to Filafej Utčycki (Philotheos Utčickij), a monastic confrere of Połacki's in the Połack Epiphany Monastery.[6] It is written in a direct, businesslike style, but the tone is warm and friendly. In contrast to the two letters already discussed, this letter is written in a macaronic Latin-Polish idiom; notable are the paraphrases of one Latin and one Polish proverb.

To judge from the contents, Utčycki had previously asked Połacki to use his position to aid the hard-pressed Orthodox in Połack.[7] Połacki's letter of response has three parts. In the first, he sends the addressee warm congratulations for being chosen hegumen of the Epiphany Monastery in Połack. He understands that this honor was not sought, but was bestowed by Divine Providence for Utčycki's efforts "in spreading the glory of His Most Holy Name, in upholding the almost ruined Church [and] for edifying Christ's flock entrusted to your care." In the second, Połacki thanks his correspondent for "the epistolary visit sent through our fellow countryman," adding that he wishes that they could renew

[6] Filafej Utčycki (Philoteos Utčickij) is a figure about whom almost nothing is known, other than what Beleckij relates in "Iz načal'nyx let," pp. 266–67.

[7] A. Sapunov, *Istoričeskie sud'by polockoj eparxii* (Vitebsk, 1889), pp. 95–114 and passim, chronicles problems faced by the Orthodox of Połack at this time. From the information provided by L. I. Denisov, *Pravoslavnie monastyri rossijskoj imperii* (Moscow, 1908), pp. 68–70, it appears that the Epiphany Monastery was the only Orthodox one in Połack and its vicinity. In light of this, Połacki's somewhat unusual reference to Utčycki's being awarded the "Połack hugemenate (*ihumeństwo połockie*)" is more comprehensible. There was only monastery in Połack of which Utčycki could have been hegumen—the Brotherhood of the Epiphany Monastery.

their friendship face to face. Then, addressing the issues raised by Utčycki in his letter, Połacki says that he would gladly think of the "harm done to the Church" ("szkoda Cerkiewna"), but that the Ukrainian rebellion ("rebellio ukraińska") has caused neglect ("odłog udziałała") to even greater matters. When the situation improves, Połacki will gladly devote attention and effort to complying with Utčycki's request. In closing discussion of the matter Połacki adds cryptically: "Only, as I understand it, may not all be lost that has fallen from the wagon (*Tylkoż iakiem zrozumiał, bodajto nie przepadło, to co z woza spadło*)."[8]

In the third and closing portion of the text Połacki hurriedly speaks of several things. He assumes that a letter and two books sent to Vilnius by a certain "Pan Bielmaczewicz" have reached their intended recipient. He apologizes for the haste of the letter and its lack of any "tasty tidbit" ("specjał"), saying that he will try to make up for this in the future. He commends himself to their former friendshp and to Utčycki's prayers.

In the first postscript to the letter Połacki sends a greeting to "His Honour the Vicar" and begs pardon for not writing him a separate letter, saying "I simply do not have the time, owing to urgent conciliar duties." In two final postscripts Połacki sends his regards to the monastic community in Połack and to all the "messieurs burghers gracious to us." Although the letter was obviously written in haste, it attests to the warm relationship between the correspondents, Połacki's concern for the Orthodox church in his native city, and his enduring personal ties with those whom he had known there.

I have discussed these three letters as a group because their dates of composition, the identities of their intended recipients, and their analysis presented little difficulty. Such is not the case with the final text, letter 2 (appendix, pp. 178–79), to which I now turn. The date of this letter, the true identity of its intended recipient, and an interpretation of its contents require somewhat more extensive analysis.

[8] *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłówiowych polskich*, ed. Julian Krzyżanowski, vol. 2: *K–P* (Warsaw, 1970), p. 764, gives the standard form of this well-known Polish proverb as "Co z woza spadło, to przepadło." He gives 1688 as the date of its earliest known printed source. Połacki's use of this paraphrased form indicates that the proverb had gained wide currency at least twenty years earlier.

The letter appears in the manuscript between the dated letters to Łukasz Sitnianowicz-Piotrowski and Bazyli Stefanowicz; hence it could have been written in the latter part of 1667. Indeed, evidence in the body of the letter itself bears this out. Also, in the postscript Połacki provides two details which allow us to establish both a *terminus post quem* and a tentative *terminus ante quem* for his letter. He writes:

Miecz Duchowny jako żołnierzowi Chrystusowemu osyłam. Przyjmi mile, a za Autora módl się Bogu, który już się tytułuje Archiepiskopem Czernihowskiem z łaski Cara Jego Mści i swiatejszych Patriarchów na ten czas, tu zostających; Paisija Aleksandryjskiego i Makarija Antiochijskiego, i Joasafa wseja Rossii Patriarchy.

Lazar Baranovyč, author of *Miecz Duchowny* (*Meč duxovnyj*), was confirmed as archbishop of Černihiv by the patriarchs Połacki names, in a decree dated 8 September 1667.[9] Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, had come to Moscow to participate in the church council of 1666–68. He left Moscow on 31 May 1668.[10] Thus Połacki's letter must have been composed in the months between these two dates. Determining the identity of Połacki's correspondent will enable us to advance the *terminus ante quem* to 13 April 1668, and will also provide a key to understanding the letter's contents.

I have already said that Połacki nowhere names his correspondent, and I have also mentioned that a note in the margin of the manuscript identifies the intended recipient of Połacki's letter as Filafej Utčycki. Certain details prove conclusively, however, that this is not the case at all.

In the salutation Połacki addresses his intended recipient as "Very Reverend in God, Father, Vicar, My Dearest Father and Brother in Christ (*W bogu Przewielebny Mści Ojcze Namiesniku, mnie w Chrystusie Najmilszy Ojcze i Bracie*)." That this is not Utčycki is clear from the postscript to Połacki's letter of April 13 to the newly appointed hegumen of the Połack Epiphany Monastery (letter 4 discussed above). There Połacki asks Utčycki to convey his regards "To His Honor, the Vicar, My Benefactor," and apologizes for not writing a separate letter. Thus, it is clear that letter 2 was addressed not to Połacki's friend Utčycki, but to the vicar of the Kiev metropolitan for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Teodosij Vasyljevyč

[9] Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie,* p. 200, fn. 5.

[10] William Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar,* vol. 3: *The History of the Condemnation of Patriarch Nicon* (London, 1873; reprinted, 1966), p. 311, fn. 40.

Baevs'kyj (Fieadosij Vasilavič Bajeŭski; Feodosij Vasilevič Bajevskij). No full biography of Baevs'kyj is available, but what is known about him allows us to analyze Połacki's letter with some insight.[11]

Baevs'kyj began his career in Kiev, where he taught poetics and rhetoric at the Mohyla Collegium in the late 1640s and became abbot of the St. Michael Archangel Monastery in the 1650s. Appointed vicar of Mahiloŭ and archimandrite in Słuck by Metropolitan Sylvester Kosov in 1654, Baevs'kyj did not assume his office immediately, due to suspicions about his loyalty. The Muscovite voivodes in Kiev forbade him to leave for his see in Polish-ruled territory until permission had been received from Moscow. The

[11] Biographical data concerning Baevs'kyj and his career are scattered among several authors and works. V.O. Èingorn, *Očerki iz istorii Malorossii v XVII*, vol. 1: *Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v carstvovanii Alekseja Mixajloviča* (Moscow, 1899), speaks of him in numerous instances. On pages 54, 76, and 83–85, Èingorn says that Baevs'kyj was abbot of St. Michael Archangel Monastery in Kiev, and that Metropolitan Sylvester Kosov appointed him vicar in Mahiloŭ and archimandrite of Słuck (*arximandrit sluckij*), giving the Moscow voivodes' reaction to this appointment. On pp. 227–29, Èingorn discusses Baevs'kyj's anti-Muscovite agitation among the population of Belorussia in the years 1662–63. He points out (p. 229) that Baevs'kyj's political stance did not prevent him from waging a vigorous defense of Orthodoxy and opposing the acceptance of the Union of Brest. In fn. 559, on p. 277, Èingorn states that Tukal's'kyj appointed Baevs'kyj his vicar for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on 3 December 1663. On page 519, the author notes that by 1667 Polish persecution of the Orthodox church in Belorussia forced Baevs'kyj to abandon his previous political orientation and seek support from Moscow.

A Jabłonowski, *Academia Kijowsko-Mohylańska: Zarys historyczny na tle rozwoju ogólnego cywilizacji zachodniej na Rusi* (Cracow, 1899–1900), p. 123, points out that "Teodozij Baiewski" taught poetics at the Mohyla Collegium in 1646–47. This is partially confirmed by Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie*, pp. 121–23, when he relates that Baevs'kyj, a "teacher of rhetoric," accompanied Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj (Epifanij Slavineckij) and Arsenij Satanovs'kyj (Arsenij Satanovskij) in 1649 on their journey to Moscow, and that he returned with lavish gifts for Metropolitan Kosov, for the Brotherhood of the Epiphany Monastery, and for himself.

Sapunov, *Istoričeskie sud'by*, p. 158, outlines Baevs'kyj's career as bishop of Msčisłaŭ, Orša, and Mahiloŭ from 1669 to his death in 1678. Sapunov remarks that Baevs'kyj was elevated to the episcopal dignity from the rank of "Archimandrite of the Sluck (Słuck) monastery (*iz arximandrita sluckogo mon[astyria]*)." He notes that the future metropolitan of Rostov and saint of the Russian Orthodox church, Dmitrij Rostovskij (Dmytro Savyč Tuptalo), gave the eulogy at Baevs'kyj's funeral on 11 March 1678, in Lublin.

Both Èingorn and Sapunov use a similar, somewhat anomalous term to designate Baevs'kyj's rank. An archimandrite, like an hegumen, resided in one monastery, not in a specific town or city. Denisov, *Pravoslavnie monastyri*, p. 377, fn. 7, helps to explain by noting that the Holy Trinity Monastery in Sluck (Słuck) was the only Orthodox monastery in the city during the time in question.

suspicions of the authorities seem to have been well founded, for once in Polish territory Baevs'kyj assumed a pro-Polish political stance. This did not prevent him from waging a vigorous defense of Orthodoxy, both before and after being appointed vicar for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Metropolitan Iosyf Tukal's'kyj in 1663. (This last appointment made Baevs'kyj even more odious in the eyes of the Muscovite authorities, for they had opposed Tukal's'kyj's elevation to the metropolitanate.) Only in 1667 did Polish persecution of the Orthodox church force Baevs'kyj to reevaluate his position and turn to Moscow.

By 1648 Połacki had become a sufficently proficient poet-translator to translate two *akathistos* services into elegant Polish verse.[12] It is quite possible that Baevs'kyj was his instructor. At the very least, their acquaintance dates from this period. It is also very likely that relationship lasted into the 1660s, when their paths diverged; Baevs'kyj remained in the Commonwealth as a supporter of the Polish Crown and Orthodoxy, while Połacki departed for Moscow and the favor of the Orthodox tsar. With all this in mind, we may understand the concern with which Połacki received a letter from a person thoroughly compromised in the eyes of Moscow's religious and political authorities. To judge from Połacki's reply, not only the identity of the correspondent, but also the contents of the letter itself were suspect. Baevs'kyj seems to have inquired about the possibility of Połacki's return to his native land, and as inducement offered him the hegumenate of the Połack Epiphany Monastery. This situation explains not only Połacki's attempt to camouflage the identity of his correspondent, but also the language, style, and contents of his response.

The first part of the text is written in a friendly but formal style which finally takes on a highly lyrical and emotional coloring. The language is the same Latin-Polish macaronic mix used in the letter to Utčycki. Here Połacki expresses his sorrow at having unexpectedly parted from Baevs'kyj and the joy he experienced at hearing of the latter's good health and safety. He recalls that they had often spoken of sharing the same fate and of spending their days together like Castor and Pollux, but says that God has willed otherwise. The author consoles himself with the thought that "God has nonetheless left us fraternal charity like seed sown on the good soils of our

[12] Cf. Xarlampovič, *Malorossijskoe vlijanie,* p. 380, fn. 1; Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu,* pp. 110–14.

hearts." According to Połacki, these seeds would grow, so that "separated by a great distance, we still send each other the . . . awns of friendship and goodwill. O Heavenly Powers, would that I personally could gather those awns and, having bound a sheaf of that dear wheat the faster, I could offer an offering of gratitude!"

The letter's second part was probably written in response to Baevs'kyj's inquiries about the possibility of Połacki's return to Belorussia and his acceptance of the hegumenate. Połacki makes his position very clear both to Baevs'kyj and to anyone in Moscow who might read his letter. Continuing on the same note with which he concluded the first part of the letter, Połacki writes that he would like to have the wings of a dove so that he might fly homeward, but "there are many hawks there against eastern doves." To demonstrate where his feelings lie, Połacki at this point lapses into a macaronic language containing several lines of Church Slavonic. He writes: На востоцѣ сердце мое и плоть моя возрадовастася о Бозѣ живѣ, Ибо ту птица обрѣте себѣ храмину и горлица гнѣздо себѣ, w którym wolno stękać zawsze, zawsze grzechy bez wszelakiej przeszkody. A nadto, изволихъ примѣтати ся в ъдому Бога моего, неже жити /?/ въ селѣхъ западныхъ.

With his attachment to his place of refuge in Orthodox Moscow duly expressed, Połacki abandons rhetorical heights and begins to preach to his correspondent. He writes: "It is sweet to see even the [hearth] fires of the Fatherland," but notes that this is a completely worldly notion and that "God is our Father and Heaven the Fatherland." In Połacki's view, his addressee does not share this belief. He writes, "But you, on the other hand, [hold] either 'Ubi bene, ibi patria,' or that 'Pauperi ubique patria.'"[13] Pressing home this point, Połacki admits that his heart remains attached to the monastery in which he had become a monk, but that "Love acts at a distance as well." Dismissing the possibility of his accepting the hegumenate, Połacki writes: "I have long known that 'Honus-onus,' that for me piety with satisfaction (благочестие со довольствомь) is sufficient." To assuage any pain that his criticism has caused, Połacki closes his letter with words of "fraternal charity." He writes "Quantum te amo, et amari volo. Vale." The

[13] This is possibly a reference to Baevs'kyj's supposed declaration that he would serve anyone who would guarantee the inviolability of his estates. See Èingorn, *Očerki iz istorii Malorossii,* vol. 1: *Snošenija malorossijskogo duxovenstva,* p. 229, fn. 567.

postscript bears out these sentiments, for there Połacki writes that he has sent Baranovyč's *Meč duxovnyj* as a gift to "a soldier of Christ."

Połacki's text to Baevs'kyj was composed in response to a letter whose revelation of contents and author could have had unpleasant consequences for one so well placed in Moscow. It is ample testimony of Połacki's views at the time, and to the firm and eloquent manner in which he could defend them, himself, and his position in Moscow.[14]

Historical figures assume, in the course of time, the qualities of museum pieces. Torn from appropriate surroundings, they become mute, static figures which arouse our curiosity but little real enthusiasm or understanding. Indeed, our appreciation of them may be distorted by insufficient or improperly understood facts. Letters are one way to avoid or correct such misunderstanding. The texts examined in this article illuminate facets of a prominent personality whose image the centuries have obscured. Połacki was a man of position viewing events in his native land from afar. Concerned about the affairs of both his family and his faith, he felt unable to return to his homeland so as to defend them in person. His only other recourse was written correspondence. These letters reveal that their author was acutely aware of his responsibilities, whether in chastising an errant brother, placating a potentially offended brother-in-law, warmly congratulating a friend, or firmly rejecting the possibly dangerous proposition of a former teacher. In

[14] Połacki's own opinion of the Muscovite capital seems to have changed. Golubev, p. 115, quotes in Russian translation from a letter of Połacki to Varlaam Jasyns'kyj in 1664 wherein the author expresses a rather unfavorable view of the possibilities of life in Moscow: "Možet byt' kakoj libo prislužnik budet rekomendovat', čto zdes' iz roga Amalfei istekaet nebesnaja ambrosija, no nam tak že svobodno pol'zovat'sja eju, kak sobakam Egipta vodoju iz Nila ili sotovym medom okružennym pčelami. Matka i zdes' bez žala, no tolpa neterpima k raznomysljaščim s neju." Połacki's success in the ensuing years undoubtedly caused him to view his residence in Moscow differently. His closeness to the royal court and the patriarchal throne (until the death of Ioasaf II in 1672) did not meet with universal approval. The adherents of "Greek learning" resident in the Russian capital, including Jepifanij Slavynec'kyj and Ioakim, archimandrite of the Čudov Monastery from 1664–1672 and patriarch of Moscow from 1674–1690, deeply distrusted Połacki's educational background and his Latin-influenced theological views. (*Osten: Pamjatnik russkoj duxovnoj pis'mennosti XVII veka* [Kazan, 1865], pp. 70–74, 133–44, gives the views of both Slavynec'kyj and Ioakim on Połacki's education, theology, and certain of his writings.) Połacki's trilingual declaration of loyalty to Moscow and Orthodoxy was intended to dispel any doubts concerning his sympathies that the reader of his letter might have.

reading his own words of response, we can apprehend the very human concerns and personality of a historical figure separated from us by over two hundred years. In a certain sense, then, *nobisque 'dulce est et videre fumos Patriae' eius.*

University of Alberta

APPENDIX

Abbreviations Found in the Texts

Jego Mści	Jego Miłości
Mści	Miłości
P. Bracie	Panie Bracie
P. Szwagra	Pana Szwagra
Przewiel. Jego (P. J.)	Przewielebna Jego Miłość
Przewielbn. (?) T.	Przewielebność Twoja, Przewielebności Twojej
S. P. S.	Symeon Piotrowski-Sitnianowicz
Wiel. J. (W. J.)	Wielebna Jego Miłość
Wm.	Wasza Miłość
Wmści	Waszej Miłości, Wasze Miłości
Wmściom	Waszym Miłościom
Wmściów	Waszych Miłościów

Letter 1

fond 381, MS 390
fol. 102 v

do Łukasza brata

Mnie serdecznie miły P. Bracie,

Komu krwawy Mars ojczyste powojowal progi i cielesne zadal rany; Tobie, widzę, pokój dom duszewny wypustoszył, gdy od Błahoczestija oderwałeś się i nieuleczoną snać zadal ranę duszy, gdy od prawej wostocznej oderwałeś się Cerkwie. A jeszcze tak, że zapomniawszy wszystkich jej dobrodziejstw, któremi duszę twą przez długi czas hojnie nadarzyła, stałeś się ciężkim adwersarzem, którejże i ja jestem członkiem. Muszę ciężko ciebie znosić, ale da Bóg z tą siłę, że jeszcze nie zastękam. Jeśliś się udal za światem, mógłbyś przynamniej pokorą i życzliwością cokolwiek chęci w Cerkwie Bożej rezerwować sobie. Od dawna ja znałem skłonność w tobie ku tej odmienie, lecz nie spodziewałem się krnąbrności z uporem, i nie rozumiałem, abyś miał być ciężki. W czym jeśli nie usłyszę o poprawie,

ostatnie ode mnie czytasz. Vale. Datum z Moskwy, A°1667 8bris, 9

Letter 2

fond 381, MS 390
fol. 102v–fol. 103r

W Bogu Przewielbny Mści Ojcze Namiesniku,
mnie w Chrystusie Najmilszy Ojcze i Bracie

do Ojca Philothea
Utczyckiego

Jakiej mię inopinatus rozłączenia się naszego casus nabawił był troski i żalu, takiej teraz nabylem pociechy i wesela wzięciem wiadomości o szczęśliwym, przy dobrym zdrowiu, przebywaniu W: J:, Zaiste, "Homo proponit, Deus disponit," bo jako Wiel: J:, wiem dobrze, życzył sobie ze mną utramque partire fortunam, tak i ja, doznawszy stateczney miłości W: J: ku sobie, animitus sprzyjałem sobie, by i same dni żywota jako Castor cum Polluce na przemiany puścić. Alić Bóg, mutua praesentia raczywszy privare, impotes utorum uczynił. Zostawił jednak nam jako semen fraternam charitatem, na dobrych rolach serdc naszych zasiane, które, propitiis superis increment swój biorąc, rośnie tak, że magnam distantiam bedąc rozdzieleni, możemy się bynamniej życzliwości obsyłać kłosami. O, propitii superi, zdarczie to, abym sam praesens teto zbierał kłosy, prędzejby tej drogiej snop związawszy pszenice, ofiarę wdzięczności mógł ofiarować! Bym chciał skrzydła jako golębica, leciałbym ochoczo ku twej obfitej w miłości roli, ale że tam wiele jastrzębów na wostoczne gołębie, płoche z niemi bezpieczeństwo. На востоцѣ сердце мое и плоть моя возрадовастася о Бозѣ живѣ, Ибо ту птица обрѣте себѣ храмину и горлица гнѣздо себѣ, w którym wolno stękać zawsze, zawsze grzechy bez wszelakiej przeszkody. A nadto, изволихѣ примѣтати ся вь дому Бога моего, неже жити/?/ въ селѣхь западныхь. Prawda i to, że "Dulce est et fumos videre patriae," ale to światowym. Nam Bóg jest Ojcem, a niebo Ojczyzną. Tu zaś albo "Ubi bene, ibi patria," albo jako "Pauperi ubique patria." Nie fałsz i to, że gdziem włosy złożył, tam i serce moje afektywnie połżył, tylkoż amor [fol. 103r] et in distans agit. Co się tyczy prioratus, tym bym samym jako pszczoły zioła dymem musiał być wykurzony. Absit o tym mnie i pomyśleć. Dobrze głowie bez kłopotu. Wiem dawno, że "Honos onus," że mnie dosyć благочестие со довольствомь. To jako mądremu dla zrozumienia przedłożywszy, quantum te amo, et amari volo, vale.

Miecz Duchowny jako żołnierzowi waszej, najmilszego Chrystusowemu posyłam. Przyjmi mile, a najyżyczliwszy i widzieć za Autora módl się Bogu, który już się tytuluje Archiepiskopem Czernihowskiem z łaski Cara Jego

Przewielebności waszej, najmilszego brata mego najyżyczliwszy i widzieć rad

S. P. S.

Mści i swiatejszych Partriarchów na ten czas tu zostających: Paisija Aleksandryjskiego i Makarija Antiochijskiego, i Joasafa wseja Rossii Patriarchy.

Letter 3

fond 381, MS 390
fol. 103r

do P.
Szwagra Bazyla
Stefanowicza

Mści Panie Szwagrze!

Aczkolwiek nieskoro mię doleciało pióro od Wmści, jednak dosyć wygodnie żądzy mojej i mile afektowi, bom dostatecznie został wieszczony o szczęśliwym, chwała Bogu, przebywaniu Wmści wespoł z Panią Małżonką, a mnie jedynie miłą siostrą i z najmilszem potomstwem, o czym ustawiczne desideria moje były. Za co ja, wszech dóbr Dawcy nabożne dzięki oddając, oraz modlę, aby umnażając lat Wmściom, przy stateczności zdrowia umnażał też i szczęsliwe sukcesy przy błogosłowieństwie swym Boskiem. O moim zdrowiu i powodzeniu certifikuję, że na oboim prawica mi Boska miłosierdzie faworuje. Za oznajmienie o pobożnym wieku dokonaniu dobrodzieja mego Pana Stryja wiele dziękuję Wmści. Życzyłem sobie, jeśli nie widzieć, przynajnamniej [sic] słyszeć o его многолѣтствии, a że się Bogu na wieczność przesielić onego podobało, wielbię imię Jego święte, żebrząc zmiłowania na duszę nieboszczykowską, aby raczył ją domieścić ojczyzny. Dziatki, o których Wmści oznajmować raczą, niech Bóg wszechmogący błogosławi na pociechę Wmściów. Jedna, którę Wm. mianujesz belli, to jest wojny, ja życzę, aby była pacis, to jest pokoja. Zakładaj Wm. szczęśliwie z Boską pomocą, który niech Sam z bogatej Swej prawicy suppeditere potrzeby Wmści i hojnie opatruje. A ja radbym był wygodnym Wmści, jeślibym nie rozporażył Panom braci tak po krwi jako i w duchu. I na ten czas pisania mojego expedi Pana Jana Piotrowskiego, jego, a niedziel temu trzy Pan Jan Szeremet, brat ode mnie odjachał. A u mnie tu nie po dawnemu, bo pieniądze nie miedne. Ja, chwała Bogu, że victum et amictum mieć mogę według powołania mego, a o zbiór nie kłopocę się. Proszę wtedy uniżenie, abyś mię raczył jako wymownego i, na mnie się nie urażając, w łasce swej chował, której ja pilno z powolnością i życzliwością komenduję.

Data z Moskwy A 1667

Jej Mści Paniej Małżonce a namilszej dóbr życzliwy szwagier siestrze mojej braterski pokłon Sitnianowicz, zasyłam, a na znak

Wmści wszech dóbr życzliwy szwagier Symeon Piotrowski Sitniamowicz, Jeromonach niedostojny ręką własą

nieodmiennej ręką własną uprzejmości posyłam adamaszku fiołkowego łokci dziesięć. Niech zdrowa nosi, chowając mię w miłości dawnej i modłach, nie przepominaiąc, jako i ja czynię.

Dziatki Wmściów pozdrawiam.
Memu wielce łaskawemu Panu i szwagrowi, Panu Bazylemu Włodzimierzowi Stefanowiczowi, pisarzowi mińskiemu ma być oddane.

Letter 4

fond 381, MS 390
fol. 112r

do Ojca Philothea Utczyckiego

W Bogu Przewielebny Mści Ojcze Ihumenie,
Mnie w Chrystusie Najmilszy Ojcze i Bracie!

Mam za prawdziwe one pospolite przysłowie: "Honor sequitur fugacem." Gdy znam, że te, nolentem nec meditantem, Boskim zrządzeniem Ihumeństwo dościgło Połockie, na którym winszuję i sprzyjam Przewielebności Twojej błogosławieństwa Bożego dla rozszerzenia sławy przenaświętszego imienia Jego, dla podpory zaledwo nie labantis Ecclesia[e], dla zbudowanie Trzody Chrystusowej regimini tua poruczonej, a samemu Wmści pro utraque salute. Za wizytę listowną przez rodaka przysłaną uniżone dzięki oddaję, a wzajem korespodując, życzę facie ad faciem dawną odnowić charitatem. O szkodzie cerkiewnej rad bym przemyśleć ze wszystkiej dusze, ale teraz rebellio ukraińska i większym sprawom odłóg udziałała, za czym chyba kiedy szczęśliwsze echo nas doleci, nie przepomnę starania przyłożyć. Tylkoż jakiem zrozumiał, bodajto nie przepadło, co z woza spadło. O pisaniu, którem dyrygował do Przewiel: J: do Wilna przez Pana Bielmaczewicza, trzymam, że doszło do ręku P. J. pospołu z księgami, *Mieczem Duchownym* wydanym od Jego Mści Ojca Archiepiskopa Chernihowskiego i z *Żezłem prawlenia* nowo na Moskwie wyrosłym. A na ten czas za prędkością okazjej z żadnym się nie mogę zalecieć specjałem. O wybaczenie upraszam. Za inszą okazją powetować obiecujęć. Interim, dawnej miłości chęci komenduję. O modły święte proszę uniżenie.

Datum z stolicy A 1668, Aprilis 13

Przewielb./?/ T. Najżyczliwszy w Chrystusie Brat i Bogomódlca

Symeon Piotrowski Sitnianowicz Jeromonach Niedostojny

Jego Mści, Namiesnikowi dobrodziejowi Najżyczliwszy w memu niziuchno się kłaniam, a o Bogomódlca wybaczenie proszę, że osobliwego pisania nie posyłam.

Zgola czasu nie mam za pilnemi
zabawami sobornemi.

Z tym wielebnym Ojcom także upadam do nóg i o modły święte proszę.

Panom mieszczanom na nas łaskawym czełobicie zasyłam.
Przewielebnemu w Bogu Jego Mści, Ojcu Philotheowi Utczyckiemu, Ihumenowi Monasterza Bohojawleńskiego Połockiego, mnie w Chrystusie Najmilszemu Ojcu należy.

REVIEW ARTICLES

The Origins of the Zaporozhian Cossacks: Apropos of a Recent Study

BOHDAN A. STRUMINSKY

DIE HERKUNFT VON ZAPOROGER KOSAKEN DES 17. JAHRHUNDERTS NACH PERSONENNAMEN. By *Suzanne Luber.* Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) an der Freien Universität Berlin. Berlin: Otto Harrasowitz (Wiesbaden), 1983. 145 pp.

The register of ca. 40,000 men acknowledged to be members of the Zaporozhian Host in Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj's agreement with representatives of the Polish-Lithuanian king at Zboriv in 1649 has drawn scholarly attention since its publication—in none too reliable form—by Osyp Bodjans'kyj in 1874.[1] The importance of this document lies in that it is the largest available Zaporozhian Cossack register, and in that it sheds some light on such questions as who these Cossacks were, how they were called, etc. The much larger register of ca. 127,000 Zaporozhian Cossacks who swore allegiance to the tsar of Muscovy in 1654 at Perejaslav has for the most part remained unpublished.

The Zboriv register as published by Bodjans'kyj was first studied by Antoni Józef Rolle[2] and Vjačeslav Lypyns'kyj (Wacław Lipiński);[3] these historians of the Ukraine were obliged to use some elementary linguistic (anthroponymic) methodology to establish such matters as the social status and origin of the Cossacks. The 1649 register is now being studied by the historian George Gajecky, who kindly allowed me to examine his

[1] "Reestra vsego Vojska Zaporožskogo posle Zborovskogo dogovora s korolem pol'skim Janom Kazimirom, sostavlennye 1649 goda, oktjabrja 16," *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete*, vols. 2-3 (Moscow, 1874).

[2] A. J. Rolle, "Powstawanie nazwisk rodowych u ludu małoruskiego," *Niwa* (Warsaw), 1889, nos. 2-7; reprinted in his *Sylwetki heraldyczno-etnograficzne*, vol. 8 (Cracow, 1892).

[3] W. Lipiński, *Stanisław Michał Krzyczewski: Z dziejów walki szlachty ukraińskiej w szeregach powstańczych pod wodzą Bohdana Chmielnickiego* (Cracow, 1912), appendix 1: "Szlachta wpisana do rejestrów Wojska Zaporożskiego w r. 1649," reprinted in V. Lypyns'kyj, *Tvory. Arxiv. Studiji*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1980).

manuscript notes. It is only recently that the Zboriv register has drawn the attention of linguists. Several have used this register, among other sources, to study Ukrainian anthroponymy; they include V. Simovyč, J. Hursky, G. Y. Shevelov, and M. Xudaš. A few have devoted special studies to the names of the 1649 register. The first was Roland Weischedel.[4] Now we have another monograph on the names of the Zboriv register—the work by Suzanne Luber under review here.

Since the author states in the book's opening paragraph that hers is "first of all a linguistic study" (p. 9), let us begin by examining her brief chapter "On the linguistic attribution of the register" of Zboriv (which she consistently refers to by its Russian form, Zborov, as she does to Ukrainian towns and persons throughout the book). She states that most names in the Zboriv register of Cossacks show "East Slavic phonetic forms," but their "further specification as perhaps 'Ukrainian personal names' cannot be sufficiently proved from the phonetic forms of the underlying names" because "parallel to Ukrainian sounds, Great Russian equivalents can, as a rule, also be observed" (p. 35). This she demonstrates by referring to such allegedly Ukrainian-Russian parallelisms as: (1) *Tverdochlib*: "Russian" *Tverdochlěb*, etc.; (2) *Skrypka*: "Russian" *Skripka*, etc.; (3) *Čornobryvčenko*: "Russian" *Čornobrovyj*, etc.; (4) *Imgleěvec'*: "Russian" *Mgleěvskij*; (5) *Vovk*: "Russian" *Volk*, etc. (p. 36).

I am obliged to recount these elementary facts here: (1) *ѣ* and *и* were parallel spellings in Old and Middle Ukrainian; (2) so were *ы* and *и*; (3) *ro*: *ry* (from *rъ* in an open syllable) are parallel forms in Ukrainian, cf. Modern Ukrainian *čornobryvyj* 'black-browed': *brova* 'brow'; (4) so are forms with a new initial *i* before a sonant-consonant or sonant-sonant cluster, e.g., *imla*: *mla* 'mist'; (5) the labialization of the former *l* sonants was avoided in spelling based on Church Slavonic and Polish models, therefore *волкъ* was the norm, whereas *вовкъ* was a deviation. Yet, misinterpreting these five points, Ms. Luber concludes that "Ukrainian names appear but do not dominate" in the register (p. 36).

This mistaken linguistic premise at the outset is the first step toward her final conclusion that only 14 percent of the Cossacks in her sample were from the Ukraine, whereas as many as 39 percent were from various other countries (Moldavia, Hungary, Turkey, the Crimea, the Caucasus, etc.), 26 percent from Muscovy, 17 percent from White Ruthenia and Polissia (she does not explain which Polissia—the Ukrainian or the White-Ruthenian);[5] only the group from Poland, at 4 percent, was less numerous

4 R. Weischedel, *Eine Untersuchung ukrainischer Personennamen des XVII. Jahrhunderts. Kiewer Regiment* (Munich, 1974).

5 The term "White-Ruthenian" is preferable to "Belorussian" or "White-Russian," which are common in the English-speaking world, because those two terms place the subject within a false frame of reference (Russian, i.e., Muscovite) rather than within the one to which it belongs (Ruthenian, i.e., East Slavic of the

than that from the Ukraine (p. 120). If this was so, one wonders why the Zaporozhian Cossacks used the Ukrainian variety of chancellery Ruthenian and not the Muscovite-Russian chancellery language, i.e., the language of what is said to be the largest East Slavic group among them. (Ms. Luber apparently thinks that the Zboriv register was written in Russian, hence her consistent Russian transliterations and Russian etymologies.)

How did the author arrive at her statistics? Of the sobriquets or patronymics of Cossacks (most of whom did not have surnames) that reflect origin from a nation, country, region, town, or village, Ms. Luber selected 1,229, rejecting village-related names and names related to the Dnieper Ukraine (the two rejections largely overlap, because ca. 75 percent of the village-related names are from the Dnieper Ukraine). Having made this reduction, she makes the puzzling statement: "The proportion of aborigines [in the Cossack army] is unknown" (p. 123). Well, if she had not arbitrarily rejected 643 names directly connected with the Cossack heartland, the proportion of aborigines would not be so unknown. By rejecting these names (34.3 percent of all names referring to origin from an area or nationality), Ms. Luber made questioning the Ukrainian character of Xmel'nyc'kyj's Cossack army much easier.

In her summary Luber vaguely concludes that "the Zaporozhian [Dnieper-Ukrainian] Cossacks were mostly East Slavs from the Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovite states around the middle of the seventeenth century" (p. 124), but her statistics suggest that Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1649 were more Russian that Ukrainian or White-Ruthenian. After excluding one-third of the ethnically relevant material, Ms. Luber should have entitled her book *Die Herkunft von zugewanderten Zaporoger Kosaken des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Personennamen*, which would have made it clear from the outset what the reader could expect from her study.

Luber applied the same method of excluding the aboriginal Dnieper Cossacks in her comparative analysis of names of Cossacks in the registers of 1581 and 1649 (p. 120). From the 356 names in the 1581 register that reflect ethnic origin, she excluded 78 (22 percent) from the Cossack heartland, thus obtaining the following statistics:

---

former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). The usual English meaning of "Ruthenian" (i.e., Ukrainian, in particular southwestern Ukrainian, or Galician and Transcarpathian) is correct for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but should be broadened when one speaks of the earlier period, to include the East Slavic idiom of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

On the ethnic and linguistic unity of Ruthenians in the Commonwealth, see Antoine Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes* (Lille, 1938), pp. 15–17, and Frank E. Sysyn, "Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of National Consciousness and National Conflict in the Khmelnytsky Movement," *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (Edmonton and Toronto, 1980), pp. 70–71.

48 percent White Ruthenians and Polissians	133 men
31 percent Ukrainians	86 men
9 percent Muscovites	25 men
6 percent Poles	17 men
6 percent others (Moldavians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Crimeans)	17 men
TOTAL	278 men

As in the Zboriv register, Ukrainians in this register have been reduced to a minority. But if the 78 Ukrainian excluded by Luber are reinstated and new percentages from the base of 356 names are calculated, the following results are obtained:

46 percent Ukrainians	164 men
37 percent White Ruthenians and Polissians (many among the latter Ukrainians)	133 men
7 percent Muscovites	25 men
5 percent Poles	17 men
5 percent others	17 men
TOTAL	356 men

Now Ukrainians appear in the place where logically they should have been all along: as the numerically strongest ethnic group among Dnieper Cossacks, a fact determining their generally Ukrainian character throughout their history.

Before making a similar recalculation of Ms. Luber's Zboriv sample, let us check the validity of her specific data. In the examples that follow, obvious spelling variants are ignored. But, to be true to some important features of the original, we must restore the nonpalatal *c* spellings, in accordance with the Church Slavonic norm of the seventeenth century in the Ukraine (expressed, e.g., in M. Smotryc'kyj's grammar of 1619), which O. Bodjans'kyj replaced by Modern Ukrainian *c'* in his edition of the 1649 register, as is evident by comparing his lithographed sample of the original with his reprint. This fact was not recognized by Ms. Luber, who states that "*-ць* is spelled in the word-final position throughout the Register" (p. 36).

We must exclude son-in-law names from Luber's sample, because the son-in-law of a person of such or another origin need not be of that same origin. So we must drop ***Москалевъ зять, Москаленковъ зять, Литвиновъ зять, Ляховъ зять, Волошиновъ зять, Лотышовъ зять, Турчиновъ зять*** (four instances), ***Татариновъ зять, Циганчинъ зять***. We must also exclude the two instances of the name *Хмельницкого* in the list of names derived from towns, because they refer to the same person, Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, whom Luber does not count in her study. Both of those

persons appear in the Čyhyryn company in which Hetman Xmel'nyc'kyj was registered. One of them, *Иванецъ Хмельницкого*, was the hetman's orderly and the other, *Семенъ Хмельницкого*, was his step-brother, whose real surname was different.

In the group of names said to come from the political or ethnic name "Lithuanian," *Литошненко* has to be excluded because it is a patronymic from *Литошнїй* ('well advanced in years'). Nor does *Литовненко* belong here—this is a patronymic from *Литовный*, probably representing Polish *Litowny* ('commiserating').

Among the names of people from Volhynia, the name *Волиненко* must be excluded, because patronymics in *-enko* were not formed from names of provinces or other places. The father of the person so named was a *Волинъ*, son of *Воля* ('freedom') or *Вола* ('goiter').

Among the names of "Podolians," we must exclude the two instances of the name *Подолченко*, referring to sons of men called *Подолецъ*, and the two names *Подолный*. Both bynames describe men living in the river valley area (*Подолъ*) of Kiev, Hadjač, or some other Ukrainian town, or in a village *Подолъ*, or in any lowland (*подолъ*).

Contrary to Ms. Luber's belief, the register contains no names indicating origin from Pokuttja (the expected name would be *Покутянинъ*). The name *Покутный* is an adjectival name equal in its original meaning with *покутный* 'skulking in a corner; sitting in the corner with icons; secret; penitential'; and *Покутнякъ* is either a patronymic or hypocorism or diminutive from the former.

Коломиенко has to be excluded from the names of people related to Kolomyja or nearby salt works, for the same reason as in the case of *Волиненко*: the patronymical *-enko* suffix does not form names of inhabitants or expatriates. All we can say is that *Коломиенко*'s father was called *Коломий* ('wheel-washer'). The author arbitrarily excluded 40 percent of Kolomyja-related names to account for those natives of the Dnieper area who brought salt from Kolomyja to the Dnieper and therefore were called *коломийци*. But since we are interested in all Ukrainians, including natives of the Dnieper area, we can disregard the exclusion.

Ms. Luber did not notice four bynames indicating origin from Severia (the Černihiv land): *Севрукъ* (twice) and *Севрученко* (twice).

The author's elimination of *Ляховчинъ* from among the "Polish" bynames is unjustified. This is a normal metronymic from *ляховка* 'Polish woman', cf. *Жидовчинъ* below. It is not a derivative from a place-name *Ляховъ*, as the author suggests.

Applying the author's principles that ambiguous bynames should be excluded, we must eliminate the "Slovak" *Товтикъ* (cf. Hungarian *tót* 'Slovak') because it may come from Ukrainian *tovt* 'merchant' (since many merchants or peddlars in the Ukraine were Slovaks). Nor can we accept *Товченко* as a Slovak-related byname, because it is motivated by Ukrainian

tovk 'intellect' or *tovč* 'crushed grains or other material', a word which might have been used as a nickname.

Ms. Luber considers the name *Румель* to be derivative from the Turkish *Rumeli*, a name of the Balkan part of the Ottoman Empire, and places the Cossack *Румель* among Bulgarians. But the Turkish name of an inhabitant of *Rumeli* would be *Rumelili*, and the Bulgarian or Ukrainian equivalents would be *rumelijec* or *rumelijec'*, respectively. The name seems rather to be connected to the German surname *Rummel* (known with the aristocratic *von* preposition in Livonia).

The name *Кгречунъ* must be excluded from among Greek-related names because the *-унъ* suffix was not used in ethnonyms. The name comes from *grečun* 'Christmas ritual bread' (from Romanian *Crăciun* 'Christmas').

Also for formative reasons we must exclude *Греччанинъ*, because although the *-janinъ* suffix might form names from countries, there is no such country as **Hrečka* or the like. The name is rather derived from a place called *Гречки* 'the Hrečko family' (cf. *Hrečky* in the area of Myrhorod). *Гречанинченко* is a patronymic from *Гречанинко* or *Гречанинецъ*, both diminutives or patronymics from *Гречанинъ*, possibly from a place called *Греки*, not necessarily then inhabited by Greeks (cf. *Hreky* in the area of Romny). Instead, we can add *Греченко*, a regular patronymic from *Грекъ* 'a Greek', which Ms. Luber wrongly excluded as referring to *гречка* 'buckwheat'.

It is advisable to exclude *Манджаръ* from Hungarian-related names. The citation of a dialectal Polish *Mandziar* is irrelevant for Ukrainian. The Polish language had a tendency towards secondary nasalization, as in *sędziwy* 'old' from *szedziwy*, which Ukrainian, a non-nasal-vowel language, obviously did not have. Nor was Polish *dź* borrowed as *dž* into Ukrainian (cf. Polish *dziób* > Ukrainian *dzjub* 'beak').

In the group of "Wallachian" ("Romanian") names, *Валахъ* has to be rejected because both in Middle Ukrainian and in Modern Ukrainian it means "gelding." *Волоховченко* was a son of *Волоховецъ*, originating from a settlement *Волоховъ* or *Волохово* or *Волоховое* (cf. *Voloxove* in the area of Zin'kiv today). Thus this Cossack's name says nothing about his immediate origin. To compensate for these rejections, we can add the three instances of *Волощенко* 'son of *Волошко*', which is a diminutive of *Волохъ*. Ms. Luber's idea that *Волощенко* comes from *волость* 'district' contradicts Ukrainian word formation (no *-enko* names derive from place-names) and morphonemics (no *-ščenko from -stь*; cf. the name *Kostenko* from *Kost'*). And there is no need to derive *Олашиненко* from the Hungarian *Oláh*, as Luber does, because *o-* : *u-* is an alternation in Ukrainian, cf. *onuk*: *unuk* 'grandson'.

Among the names of "Bessarabians" Luber explains *Басарабой* as an "adjectival" form because of the Muscovite rendition of the Ukrainian *Выговский* as *Выговской*. This explanation might be humorous if it did not show something more ominous: a tendency to treat the Ukrainian

language as just a regional variant of Muscovite/Russian (thus anything which applies in Muscovy is supposed automatically to apply in the Ukraine). In fact, *Басарабой* is a Romanian patronymic in *-oiu*, as in *Costoiu* from *Coste(a)* 'Constantine', etc. But the name is created from the well-known Romanian historical name *Basarab*, not from the name of Bessarabia. An inhabitant of Bessarabia is called *basarabean* in Romanian. The case of *Басарабѣй* is similar. Ms. Luber characterizes it as "an adjectival form in *-ѣй*." In fact, this is a Transylvanian and Banat Romanian name in *-i*, also from the surname *Basarab* (cf. *Petri*, *Berari* from *Petru* 'Peter', *berar* 'brewer'), adjusted to the Ukrainian *-ij* names (cf. *Petrij*, *Ivanij*). Therefore, although both names are unmistakably Romanian, they cannot be used in a study of names indicating place of origin.

Of the names related to Muntenia, *Милтяненко* should be rejected. The only thing we can determine is that it is a patronymic from *Милтянь*. Ms. Luber's idea that the name reflects the change *u* > *i* in Ukrainian is untenable, because such a change occurs only exceptionally in a few ancient words, such as *zamiž* (vyjty) 'to get married', *dibrova* 'oak grove', *ohirok* 'cucumber'.

From among the "Prussian" names *Чугуй Прусченко* should be dropped because of the oriental name *Čuhuj*, also identifiable in the town name *Čuhujiv* in the Sloboda Ukraine, in the Modern Ukrainian surnames *Čuhuj* and *Čuhujenko*, and in the Modern Russian surname *Čuguev*.

From among the "Latvian" names *Латышинъ зять* must be rejected not only because it is a son-in-law name, but because it comes from *Латыха* 'wife of *Лата*' ('patch').

In the "Turkish" group, *Турчанъ* must be omitted on grounds similar to those cited for *Гречанинъ*: there is no country **Turok* or **Turka*. But there is a town *Turka* in Galicia from which the name can be derived (with the southwestern Ukrainian *-janъ* instead of *-janinъ*; cf. *krajan* 'countryman').

In Luber's "Georgian" group, the name *Кгурщенко, Кгурсченко* has nothing in common with *Кгурджый* < Turkish *Gürcü* 'Georgian'. It is a patronymic from the Polish *Górski*; for the formation, cf. *Черкащенко* from *Черкаский*.

Ms. Luber's exclusion of twelve names derived from *черкасъ, черкасинъ* from the group of Circassian-related names on the basis of the seventeenth-century Muscovite-Russian meaning of *черкасъ* as "Dnieper Cossack" is another instance of Russian-oriented thinking on Ukrainian problems. Ukrainians had no reason to consider how Muscovites understood *черкасъ*; as far as they were concerned, it meant "Circassian." The four names based on *черкесъ* that are less frequent were influenced by Turkish *Çerkes*. The author rightly rejected *Черкаский, Черкащенко, Черкашичъ*, and *Черкашенинъ* as Circassians, although mostly for the wrong reason. The first two may have been derivatives from the Ukrainian town name *Čerkasy* (*Черкаский* and *Черкащенко*, son of *Черкасецъ* or *Черкаский*)

and can be added to the 643 names derived from the settlements in the Cossack land; the third one is a patronymic from the deverbative personal name *Черкашъ* 'the one who clinks [*čerkaje*] glasses in drinking', cf. *prystaš* 'the one who comes [*prystaje*] to his wife's parental home'); the fourth one (*Черкашенинъ*) really means "inhabitant of Čerkasy" (attested to, instead of *черкашанинъ*, in the 1552 description of the Čerkasy castle, as a southwest Ukrainian dialectal form), and should also be added to the 643.

The author's rejection of all fourteen *Пятыгоры*-based names because they may be derivatives from the name of the Ukrainian town *P''jatyhory*, as well as from the Circassian-Turkic *Beš Tau*, is too categorical. A compromise can be proposed: that is, dividing the fourteen names equally. Because Ms. Luber may have placed all these names among her 643 exclusions, we must now eliminate half of them, or seven, from that number, after having added the three exclusions noted in the paragraph above (i.e., 643+3−7=639). One should not belittle the role of these then Orthodox (only later Islamized) Caucasians among Ukrainian Cossacks, because they had close relations with the Dnieper Cossacks from the beginning of their history (the town *Čerkasy*, around which the first Ukrainian Cossacks were organized, the role of *петигорци* in the army of Lithuania when the Dnieper Ukraine was Lithuanian, the Muscovite confusion of Ukrainian Cossacks with Circassians—all this substantiates the connection).

From the "Jewish" group we must remove *Жидкого зять* not only because of *зять*, but also because this has nothing in common with *жидъ* 'Jew', but much in common with Russian *židkij* 'liquid'. We should also reject *Зраитель* (twice) because it does not belong to *израильтянинъ* 'Israelite', but rather to Polish *zraić* 'to find a wife for somebody'. The name can be reconstructed semantically as "match-maker." But Ms. Luber's rejection of the two *Жидовчинъ* names as possible derivatives from a settlement called *Жидовци* is incorrect (an inhabitant of *Жидовци* would be a *жидовчанинъ*; cf. Modern Ukrainian *černivčanyn* from *Černivci*). These are actually a metronymic from *жидовка* 'Jewess', parallel to *Жидовкинъ* without the morphological palatalization (cf. Modern Ukrainian *titka*: *titčyn* 'aunt's', but also *Paraxa*: *Paraxyn* 'Parasceva's son', a surname). Thus three of four "Jewish" names were sons of Jewish mothers, possibly born out of wedlock, which the silence about their fathers would suggest.

From among the "Gypsy" names we must reject *Циганский* because it is actually a derivative from a village name, *Циганы* (cf. *Cyhany* in the area of Borščiv, known since 1785). *Цыганского зять* must be rejected for both this reason and that stated regarding son-in-law names.

From the list of names derived from towns we must eliminate *Корицкий* because it is hardly identical with *Корецкий*; *Глушаникъ* because it may be a diminutive of *Глушанъ* 'deaf', not necessarily a derivative from *Hłuša* in White Ruthenia; *Мозыренко* (four times) because names in *-enko* do not form derivatives from town names; *Слученко* and *Слущенко* (four names) because they cannot be derived from *Słuck* for formative and

morphological reasons; and *Хотиненко* for the same formative reasons (i.e., the name is not from *Хотyn*).

Since many names are political rather than ethnic (e.g., *Литвинъ* 'anybody from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, not necessarily an ethnic Lithuanian'), we can try to determine if such names could be divided on grounds of ethnicity. In one case Luber herself made such a division, by accepting the 1:9 ratio of ethnic Lithuanians to White Ruthenians among people with Lithuania-related names, by analogy with the 1581 register, where a few ethnic Lithuanians could be identified, and with the 1649 register, which has a group of 22 (actually 20) "Latvians." We may have internal linguistic evidence of ethnic Lithuanians among the 88 people with acceptable Lithuania-related names. Along with 68 *литвинъ*-based names, eight based on *литовецъ*, one on *литвакъ*, and two morphologically feminine instances of *литовка* (a not so unusual practice; cf. the feminine historical Cossack name *Švačka* 'seamstress'), we also find nine names based on *литвишко*, a type of ethnic name formation unknown in either White-Ruthenian or Ukrainian. Therefore one can suspect an adaptation of the Lithuanian adjective *lietùviškas* 'Lithuanian' here and, consequently, we can consider those nine to be of ethnic Lithuanian origin. The result (9:79) comes close to Ms. Luber's rather arbitrary 1:9 ratio and thus supports her lucky guess. (The only other time that we encounter the same peculiar *-ишко* formation is *Лотвищенко* in the "Latvian" group, from *лотвишко*, apparently adapted from Lithuanian *lãtviškas* 'Latvian').

Among the remaining 79 "Lithuanians," one was of Polish origin, as the name *Бартошъ Литвиненко* suggests. All the others (78) were probably White Ruthenians and Ukrainians. As a guideline for division we can apply an analogy with names deriving from towns in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: 42 come from White-Ruthenian towns (Bychaŭ, Hłuša, Hłusk, Mahiloŭ, Mazyr, Pietrykaŭ, Słuck, Turaŭ) and 20 come from ethnically Ukrainian Pinsk, which gives the ratio 67.7 percent to 32.3 percent. The same ratio allows us to divide 78 Ruthenian-Lithuanian names between 53 White Ruthenians and 25 Ukrainians.

Another group from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with names related to Polissia, can be ethnically divided by internal linguistic criteria. Whereas Ukrainians call inhabitants of western Polissia *poliščuky*, a secondary derivative through *poliško*, from *polěxъ* 'inhabitant of Polěsьje', White Ruthenians call them *palašuki*, which is a direct derivative from *polěxъ*. We can assume that four men called *Полешукъ* were White Ruthenians and the rest (*Полѣшко, Полѣщенко*) were Ukrainians, i.e., 14.8 percent to 85.2 percent.

In the case of "Muscovites" we can repeat the method applied to Ruthenian "Lithuanians." Among the Cossacks originating from specific towns in Muscovy, only one was from the basically Russian town of Kursk, and as many as 18 were from towns in Sloboda Ukraine (Čuhujiv and Putyvl'), i.e., 94.7 percent. Applying the same ratio to 205 accepted

Москаль, Московецъ, etc., names results in 194 Ukrainians versus nine Russians. Four men with the byname *Москаль* also have Russian first names: *Федорка, Федя, Костя, Петруша*. Luber did not notice three names directly indicating origin from the Sloboda Ukraine: *Слободянский* and *Слободский* (twice). We can add them to the 194 + 18 Ukrainians living under the rule of Muscovy. As for the 81 people with the names *Донецъ, Донский*, etc., they should be considered Russians.

Although they were dismissed by Luber, all seven people with the *Русинъ*-based name can safely be considered expatriates from the Ruthenian palatinate, i.e., Galicians. In his 1627 dictionary P. Berynda has s.v. *Пѣтель* : "*Роўски, Кого́утъ, Волы́нски, Пѣвень, Лито́вски, Петоу́хъ*"; this says that the Church Slavonic word for rooster is translated differently into "Ruthenian"—i.e., Galician (Berynda's native dialect) and Volhynian—than into "Lithuanian"—i.e., Polissian and White-Ruthenian. Since *Роу́ски* meant "in Galician," then *роу́синъ* had to mean "the Galician."

Most names with the base *волохъ* have Ukrainian pleophonic forms, but a sizable group appears in the South Slavic form *Влашинъ*, etc. (ratio 193 : 14). One suspects that the latter were not real Romanians, but Bulgarians and Serbs from Moldavia and Muntenia. For statistical expediency they can be split equally (7 and 7) between Bulgarians and Serbs. It is characteristic that only among people with the *Волошинъ* byname do we encounter a considerable group of Romanian first names: *Мирза* = *Mîrza* (of Tatar origin); *Костя* = *Costea*; *Мизинъ* = *Mizin//Mezin*; *Штефанъ* = *Ştefan*; *Григорашъ//Кгрикгорашъ* = *Grigoraş*; *Трифанъ* (twice) = *Trifan* (versus Ukrainian *Tryxvon*, etc.); *Дмитрашенко*, son of *Dumitraş*; *Гаврилашъ* = *Gavrilaş*; *Хроля* = *Frorea//Florea* (with a Ukrainian dissimilation or metathesis and the usual $f > x$ change); *Строя* = *Stroia*; *Радулъ* = *Radul*; *Мирца* = *Mîrţea* (not *Mircea*, as Luber says); *Киршта* = *Cîrsta*; *Галатъ* = *Galatu*; *Ворсулъ* = *Ursul* (with the Ukrainian prothesis and *o//u* hesitation before stress; cf. *hucúl* 'Hutsul' from Romanian *hoţul* 'robber'); possibly *Кганжа* if it is *Ganciu* associated with Ukrainian *gandža//ganč//hanža* 'flaw'; *Шинкгирей* if it is *Şindrea* jokingly associated with the Crimean khan's title *Girey*; *Матяшъ* and *Иляшъ* with a suffix that is more typical of Romanian than Ukrainian (= *Matiaş* and *Iliaş*). This makes up a total of 21 first names (10.8 percent of "Wallachian" pleophonic names). By the same ratio we would expect one or two Romanian first names among the 14 men with non-pleophonic "Wallachian" bynames, but none appears.

Among people with Tatar-related names, some were clearly not Tatars, but Christians living in the Crimean Khanate: *Костя Татаринъ* was probably a Romanian *Costea* and the same may be true of *Иляшъ Татаринъ* (cf. what has been said earlier about this first name). *Блажко Татариченко* was probably a Serb named *Blaško* (etymologically *Blažko*). Thus we can reduce the number of "Tatars" by another three. Among the remaining 22, two preserved their Moslem Tatar first names: *Гасанъ Татаринъ* and

Муштанъ Татаринъ (=*Hasan* and *Mustafa*).

Among people with Turk-related bynames, one has to be considered a Romanian, as well: *Захарка Турчиновъ* (Romanian *Zaharca* from Ukrainian *Zaxarko*).

In some foreign ethnic groups we can distinguish regional variations. Thus among the 30 men with Hungary-related names, 15 are derived from the Turkish *Macar* 'Hungarian' (*Маджаръ*, etc.). This seems to indicate refugees from the part of Hungary that was occupied by Turks. Other names reflect the Ukrainian hesitation between the native *uhryn, uhorec'* 'Hungarian' (cf. *Угринъ*, etc.—eight bynames) and the Polonism *vengryn*, from *Węgrzyn* 'Hungarian' (cf. *Венкгринъ*, etc.—seven bynames; one man in this group even preserved the Hungarian first name *István* in the distorted form *Лиштванъ* under the influence of the Ukrainian *lyštva* 'wooden reglet'). Since Luber treats the Dnieper Cossacks as Russians and the Ukrainian language of the seventeenth-century as a Russian dialect, she uses *Венкгринъ*, etc., from the Zboriv register to "prove" that Russian *ugry* 'Hungarians' was crowded out by the Polonism *vengry* by that time.

Among the 13 men with Serb-related bynames we can distinguish one with a Hungarian first name, *Криштопъ Сербинъ*, cf. Hungarian *Kristof*, probably from a borderland with Hungary. Another *Сербинъ*, on the other hand, preserved a typical Serbian first name, *Брайко* = *Brajko.*

Having made these preliminary reexaminations, we can now compile sample statistics of ethnic groups within the Cossack army. Instead of arranging Cossacks by large, supraethnic groups (East Slavs, southeast Europeans, etc.), as Ms. Luber does, I have divided them into individual ethnic groups; religious divisions are also factored in.

In presenting these statistics I am aware of their possible inaccuracies, many of which were indicated by Ms. Luber as well. The possibility that some ethnic names may be used metaphorically (as may be the case with *Товтикъ*) is offset by the statistical law of random distribution; such errors occur at random among all ethnic names, so that the final statistical result is equally affected and therefore statistically valid nonetheless.

In some cases, too, I have gone along with the greater probability. For example, *Нѣмецъ* may be of any west European origin, but the most typical meaning was "German," so for statistical purposes those few people bearing this or a related name are treated as Germans; a *Прусъ* may be a German, a Pole, or an Old Prussian aborigine (although that type was almost extinct by 1649), but for statistical purposes, and on the basis of greater probability, I treat the two men with *Прусъ* names as Germans; a *Турчинъ* may be anybody from the multiethnic Ottoman empire, but, for lack of other indications, all Turk-related names are treated as belonging to former Turks and Moslems, with the one exception mentioned above. In contrast to men with Tatar-related names, none of the Cossacks with "Turkish" names preserved a Moslem first name. I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the 643 names derived from localities in the Cossack lands by

Ms. Luber (of which I have accepted 639 as valid). Checking each of them would entail writing a new book, not just a review of the one at hand. I have not included the putative villages *Hrečky, Hreky, Voloxove,* and *Cyhany* in the figure of 639, because, as already noted, neither their identification nor location is certain.

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF XMEL'NYC'KYJ'S COSSACKS IN 1649
BASED ON THEIR NAMES OF ORIGIN

ORTHODOX ORIGIN

Ukrainians

The Cossack area			638
Ukrainian lands of the Polish Crown			
Volhynia in general	15		
Specific Volhynian towns (Klevan', Korec', Kremenec', Ljubar, Ostropil', Krasyliv)	16	31	
Podolia in general	19		
Specific Podolian towns (Bar, Xmil'nyk, Ljatyčiv, Zboriv, Skala)	18	37	
Galicia in general	7		205
Boykian region	43		
Specific Galician towns (Berežany, Halyč, Lviv, Rohatyn, Sambir, Turka)	8	58	
Kolomyja and other places		73	
The Xolm land (Krasnostav)		1	
Severia in general	4		
Specific towns in Severia (Ljubeč)	1	5	
The Grand Duchy of Lithuania			
In general		25	
Western Polissia		23	68
Pinsk		20	

Czardom of Muscovy				
The Sloboda Ukraine in general		197		
Specific towns in the Sloboda Ukraine (Čuhujiv, Putyvl')		18	215	
TOTAL			1,127	60.3%
White Ruthenians				
Grand Duchy of Lithuania				
In general	53			
Specific towns in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Bychaŭ, Hłuša, Hłusk, Mahiloŭ, Mazyr, Pietrykaŭ, Słuck, Turaŭ)	42	100		
Western Polissia	4			
Eastern White Ruthenia (*Бѣлорускиu*)	1			
Severia (Brahin)		15		
TOTAL			115	6.1%
Russians				
In general	9			
Kursk	1		91	4.8%
Don Cossack area	81			
Romanians				
In general	193			
Bessarabia	4			
Muntenia	3		203	10.8%
Crimean Khanate	2			
Ottoman Empire	1			

Serbs			
In general	12		
Borderland with Hungary	1	21	1.1%
Romanian principalities	7		
Crimean Khanate	1		
Bulgarians			
In general	3	10	.5%
Romanian principalities	7		
Greeks		10	.5%
Circassians			
In general	16	23	1.2%
Beş Tau	7		
Georgians		3	.1%
Armenians		2	.1%
	TOTAL	1,604	85.9%
PROBABLE ORTHODOX ORIGIN			
Gypsies		16	.8%
Albanians		1	.0%
Mari (Cheremises)		9	.4%
	TOTAL	26	1.3%
PROTESTANT ORIGIN			
Swedes		5	.2%
Estonians		4	.2%
	TOTAL	9	.4%

PROTESTANT OR CATHOLIC ORIGIN

Czechs		5	.2%
Hungarians			
In general	15	30	1.6%
Turkish Hungary	15		
Germans			
In general	3	9	.4%
Swabia	4		
Prussia	2		
Latvians			
In general	20	21	1.1%
Courland	1		
TOTAL		65	3.4%

CATHOLIC ORIGIN

Poles			
In general	38	48	2.5%
Polonia Major	1		
Mazovia	5		
Kashubia	3		
Grand Duchy of Lithuania	1		
Lithuanians		9	.4%
TOTAL		57	3.0%

MOSAIC ORIGIN

Jews	4	.2%

MOSLEM ORIGIN

Turks	70	3.7%
Tatars	22	1.1%

Noghays		4	.2%
Chechens		3	.1%
TOTAL		99	5.3%

ORIGIN FROM A MULTIRELIGIOUS AND MULTIETHNIC EMPIRE
(OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS CRIMEAN VASSALAGE)

Oziv (Azak) and Očakiv (Özü)	2	3	.1%
Crimea	1		
TOTAL		1,868	99.6%

(.4% has been lost by discounting small fractions)

What distinguishes these results from the statistics offered by Suzanne Luber in her book is that they confirm what one would logically expect: the predominantly Ukrainian (and Orthodox) character of Xmel'nyc'kyj's army in 1649. Also, these results show that the Russian element, to which Luber has attributed an exaggerated role, accounted for only 4.8 percent of the army.

The results obtained by the analysis of names in the Zboriv register that directly indicate origin should be checked by an analysis of names in the register that indirectly indicate origin, i.e., linguistically (like the above-mentioned Polish *Litowny* and *Górski*, German *Rummel*, Russian *Židkij*, etc., and a considerable number of foreign first names, as listed above). Some steps in that direction have been taken by Roland Weischedel, who in his study of the Cossack names in the Kiev regiment, based on the Zboriv register, noted some Cossack first names of Catholic and even non-Christian origin. Of course, all studies of the Zboriv register must remain provisional until its complete and correct edition is published by those who now keep it in their repositories.

Harvard University

Two New Editions of Semenko

OLEH S. ILNYTZKYJ

VYBRANI TVORY/AUSGEWÄLTE WERKE. By *Mykhail' Semenko/Mychajl' Semenko.* Volume 2. Edited by *Leo Kriger.* Analecta Slavica, 23/II. Würzburg: Jal-reprint, 1983. 235 pp. 80 DM, paperback.

POEZII. By *Mykhail' Semenko.* Edited and introduced by *Ie. H. Adel'heim.* Foreword by *M. P. Bazhan.* Biblioteka poeta. Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1985. 311 pp.

Leo Kriger's publication of the first volume of *Vybrani tvory/Ausgewälte Werke* in 1979 was a milestone in the study of Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism: after almost fifty years of neglect in his native land, the founder of Ukrainian Futurism was "rediscovered" in Germany with an authoritative and scholarly edition of his works.[1] Kriger's second volume brings this noteworthy project to completion. The other publication under review here, *Poezii,* a Soviet Ukrainian edition of Semenko's works, is one of the most surprising developments in recent Soviet Ukrainian publishing history. Its appearance is undoubtedly a belated reaction to the Geman edition and marks the first time since 1936 that a collection of Semenko's poetry is circulating in the Ukraine. Unfortunately, no mention is made anywhere in the volume of the German publication or of any recent Western writings about Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism. Be that as it may, *Poezii* is, nevertheless, a very important volume. For Semenko it symbolizes the end of the long and painful journey toward posthumous de facto rehabilitation. Now Semenko is no longer just an infamous name; he becomes, for the first time in half a century, a poet accessible to the Soviet Ukrainian reading public. This is indeed a welcome turn of events.

Kriger's second volume lives up to expectations raised by the first. It not only contains further selections of Semenko's poetry, but devotes almost half of its 235 pages to Semenko's manifestos and theoretical writings (1914–1924). The volume includes a short but excellent bibliography about Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism, a table of contents to both volumes, and a list of sources which served as the basis for this edition. The very last item is a fifteen-page essay by Endre Bojtár (translated from the Hungarian by Ilma Rakusa) entitled "Die Avantgarde in der ukrainischen Lyrik der zwanziger Jahre."

[1] For my review of the first volume, see *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 1 (March 1981): 132–34.

Along with the poetry, this volume's most important contribution lies in the republication of Semenko's thirteen Futurist "articles, manifesots [and] documents" (pp. 115–204). To be sure, these do not represent the entire theoretical corpus of the movement, but they are among the most salient. To date some of these have been accessible in Leites and Iashek's invaluable bibliography and anthology from the late 1920s;[2] others, however, are extant only in the very rare publications in which they originally appeared (e.g., *Semafor u maibutnie*, 1922). An especially exciting inclusion is Semenko's important manifesto "Kvero-futuryzm" from 1914; hitherto it was never republished, and the collection in which it appeared is, as far as I know, not available in the West. The only disappointing aspect about this section is that it does not contain Semenko's very first manifesto ("Sam") from the collection *Derzannia*. Kriger mentions this notorious attack on Shevchenko in his introduction to the first volume, but unfortunately does not reprint it. Today it can be reconstructed only on the basis of citations made by M. Ievshan in *Ukrains'ka khata* (no. 3/4, 1914, pp. 272–73). It might also have been useful to alert readers that the article "Futuryzm v ukrajins'kii poezii" is reprinted here in conformity with the original and unusual transliteration system ("kh" = q; "sh" = w; "ch" = x) used in *Semafor u maibutnie*.

Endre Bojtár's "kurzen Skizze" ("Die Avantgarde in der ukrainischen Lyrik der zwanziger Jahre") is not so much an essay about lyric poetry as it is a broad outline of literature and the avant-garde in the Ukraine during the 1920s, presented against the background of West European and Russian trends. Due to its general nature, the essay adds little that is new; in some respects it repeats information provided in Kriger's introduction. Its usefulness lies in the links it draws between the Ukrainian avant-garde and similar phenomena in Europe and Russia. Its weakness lies in its skirting of direct reference to Ukrainian Futurist poetry or theory. The essay tends to talk around the Ukrainian avant-garde, rather than about it. Bojtár's generalizations about the Ukrainian avant-garde seem not to flow from specific Ukrainian examples; they are more often than not implied through analogy to Russian and European developments, which he discusses in more detail and with more conviction. Bojtár, for example, devotes much space to defining various avant-garde movements (Expressionism, Dada, Constructivism), but makes no direct attempt to link them to the theories of Ukrainian Futurism. Moreover, his generally true statement that Ukrainian Futurism must be examined in relationship to the Russian avant-garde ("In welchem Milieu ist die ukrainische Avantgarde entstanden? Primär: im russischen") begs for further comment, because nowhere does he discuss the conflicts and differences between these two movements, thus leaving the false impression that the two were rather

2 *Desiat' rokiv ukrains'koi literatury, 1917–27*, vol. 2 (Kharkiv, 1930).

alike. The essay, in short, is good at drawing parallels between the avant-gardes, but it is less satisfying as a statement about the distinguishing features of Ukrainian Futurism.

Finally, a word about the poetry in this volume. Although the selections are well-made and representative, it is disheartening that so few of Semenko's poems from after 1925 are included. In fact, the period from 1925 to 1928 is represented by only five works! And the period from 1928 to his death in 1937 is not represented at all. Thus, it must be borne in mind that this edition, for all practical purposes, portrays Semenko's poetry only up to the year 1922. This means that the reader will not get an accurate picture of the poet's late works as they appeared in *Malyj Kobzar* (1928), the avant-garde journal *Nova generatsiia* (1927–1930), the periodic press of the late twenties (e.g., *Chervonyi shliakh*), or in the seven collections that Semenko published between 1930 and 1936. Future editions of his works must address this onesidedness. In the meantime, Kriger and his publisher, Jal-verlag, are to be commended for rendering Ukrainian literature a truly great and indispensable service.

The Soviet edition, *Poezii*, has been in preparation for several years. Ie. Adel'heim, the compiler and editor of the volume, died in 1982, leaving the task unfinished. The author of the foreword, M. Bazhan, died in the same year. Completion of the project fell to I. M. Semenko (daughter of the poet), S. Kryzhanivs'kyi, M. Sulyma (author of the informative notes to the volume), and an editorial board of seven people. Kryzhanivs'kyi foreshadowed the appearance of the new volume in a short introduction he wrote in 1982 to the publication of a selection of Semenko's poems (*Poeziia*, 1982, no. 2, pp. 137–40).

In the early 1920s Mykola Bazhan was Semenko's close friend and a fellow "Panfuturist." The appearance of his name on this volume naturally raises the hope that the reader will get a unique and personal perspective on Semenko—perhaps something resembling Bazhan's earlier recollections of O. Dovzhenko, in which he made a few passing but very warm comments about Semenko, describing him as, among other things, "my careful patron and guardian."[3] Anyone harboring such expectations, however, will be sorely disappointed, for there is nothing here that is either autobiographical or suggestive of the fact that an intimacy existed at one time between these two men. Bazhan not only failed to write about things he alone knew, but he did not even admit that Semenko was executed in 1937. All he could do was to say euphemistically that Semenko's life was "tragically and meaninglessly cut short" (p. 6). Except for a few sentences, his foreword is in fact an orthodox piece of writing, uninspired and

[3] "Mytets' shukaie puti," *Vitchyzna*, 1971, no. 1, p. 174. Many of these comments, incidentally, were excised when this essay was republished in Bazhan's selected works. Cf. *Tvory u chotyr'okh tomakh*, vol. 4 (Kiev, 1975).

uninformative. Semenko is portrayed as an individual whose ideological heart was in the right place but who "frequently erred," blundering along wrong paths until he eventually found "his place" and liberated himself from "pretensions" and "attractive illusions." Bazhan's narrative locates Semenko in a vague, ahistorical plane, where events have an almost mystical character, passing before the reader like blurred landscapes from the window of a train. This is writing that respects neither historical fact nor text; it conveniently sidesteps as "errors" or "immaturity" anything which does not fit an a priori scheme. It is the type of tedious moralizing that turns much of Soviet Ukrainian criticism from an act of discovery into an exercise in futility.

Yet to take offense unduly at Bazhan's foreword would be to misunderstand it. Bazhan could not and did not write as Semenko's colleague, nor did he write as a literary critic. Instead, he wrote the foreword in his capacity as dean of Ukrainian literature and as the Hero of Socialist Labor that he was. This foreword must, after all, be understood as a rite of passage for Semenko into the literature from which he has been excluded for half a century. The priest performing this ritual could only be a man of Bazhan's stature and official reputation. In this communal rite friendship, intimacy, and personal recollections have no place. Socially acceptable "truths," not subjective feelings, must be reiterated. And this is what Bazhan did. Yet, despite the ritual nonsense, Bazhan's foreword is highly significant. Through his stereotypical but positive (and ultimately completely subjective) evaluation of Semenko, Bazhan has, in effect, bestowed an official imprimatur on him. Under the circumstances, this is probably the best Bazhan could do.

The ritual nature of this foreword is evident from Bazhan's contradictory statements. On the one hand, he riles against "extravagances," against influences of "egofuturists," against Semenko's "vybryky" (pranks), but on the other he admits that "Semenko's work. . .was an interesting phenomenon and worthy of deeper investigation. . ." (p. 3), and encourages literary scholars to pay closer attention to the avant-garde journal Semenko edited, *Nova generatsiia*, because its contents "would be valuable, useful even today" (p. 11). Bazhan bestows the ultimate acceptance on Semenko when he elevates him into the sacred Soviet literary pantheon with these words: "Today he has been justly acknowledged as one of the founders of Soviet Ukrainian poetry. His name is worthy of being placed next to the names of V. Blakytnyi, V. Chumak, P. Tychyna, I. Kulyk, Ie. Hryhoruk" (p. 6). He then addresses the faithful with words of counsel: "Let us speak about [his] mistakes, investigate their origin and purpose, let us condemn them, but let us not throw out together with the bathwater that young, fresh, healthy, and pure child, i.e., the true essence of Semenko's poetry, its innovativeness, its unmatched contribution to the treasury of Soviet Ukrainian literature" (p. 12).

Adel'heim's introductory essay is bereft of most of the validating clichés employed by Bazhan. He does, however, share Bazhan's basic approach: he elevates Semenko while downplaying the Futurist movement. Semenko is described as a "complex, contradictory, but simultaneously genuine poet" (p. 20). Like Bazhan, Adel'heim leaves the false impression that in his heart Semenko was at war with his own movement. His essay fails to come to terms with Semenko's avant-gardism, with his innovations and theories, nor does he put them in a proper cultural and historical perspective. Although Adel'heim does not break any new ground, his introduction has to be classified among the better and "positive" Soviet Ukrainian writings on this topic. As a member of this group, it utilizes the fairly common approach of mixing criticism with praise. Usually this involves condemning "formalism" and "trickery" (experimentation), while praising such things as the poet's relationship to "contemporary life," his urban themes, and his acceptance of the revolution in such works as "Tov. Sontse," "Vesna," "Step." A comparison of Adel'heim's essay with the writings of B. L. Korsuns'ka (*Poeziia novoho svitu* [Kiev, 1967], pp. 184–95; "Mykhail' Semenko," *Radians'ke literaturoznavstvo*, 1968, no. 6, pp. 19–33) easily demonstrates the traditionalism of his approach. His originality lies mainly in that his tone toward Semenko is not polemical and there are no overt references to "formalism."

Having said this, one must add that for the Soviet Ukrainian reading public, which knows almost nothing about Semenko, Adel'heim's essay will be informative. That public will certainly find interesting the few biographical facts scattered throughout the introduction. It will not be misled by Adel'heim's discussion of Semenko's urban themes, his exoticism, or his sense of the ironic. What it will not find is an objective treatment of Futurism, a statement about its relationship to other literary organizations, or an explanation of the Communisty party's attitude toward Futurism and the role the party played in its destruction.

Reservations aside, in view of the long-standing problems that Soviet Ukrainian criticism has had with respect to Semenko, the publication of his poetry is no small event. I hope that it is only a first step toward further and more objective studies of both Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism. A more precise measure of this volume's success can be gauged by how well it stands up to the German edition: while it will not replace the latter, it can legitimately compete with it.

The most obvious advantages the Soviet Ukrainian edition has over the German are price and physical appearance; it is far cheaper and more attractive. Unlike the soft-cover German volumes, which are cut-and-pasted photoreproductions of the 1925 and 1929–31 editions, the Ukrainian publication is neatly typeset and bound between hard covers. Adel'heim's *Poezii* actually has a few more poems that Kriger's *Vybrani*

tvory/Ausgewälte Werke: to be precise, the Soviet edition has 294 works, the German 283. Naturally, the Soviet edition does not have the manifestos and bibliography; moreover, Kriger's introduction to volume 1 is clearly superior to Adel'heim's.

Although the selection of works in both editions is quite similar (there is roughly 80 percent congruency), there are significant differences in emphasis. The choice and number of poems that represent Semenko's many cycles is not identical in the two editions. The late poetry is only marginally better represented in the Soviet publication. On the other hand, *Poezii* completely disregards the cycle "Himny sv. Terezi," which is well represented in the German edition. No doubt the most important and dramatic contrast between the two publications lies in the way they handle Semenko's most radical and experimental works, i.e., his trans-sense poems, his outrageous and "shocking" verse. In keeping with the attitudes expressed by Bazhan and Adel'heim, the Soviet Ukrainian edition is unquestionably more conservative. As much as possible, it tries to tame Semenko's unbridled muse. In comparison to the German, the Ukrainian edition has fewer selections from the collection *Derzannia* (1914), *Kverofuturyzm* (1914), and none at all from the cycle of "poetry-paintings," *Moia mozaika.* The "Poema [it should actually read 'Povema'] pro te, iak postav svit i zahynuv Mykhail' Semenko," which Adel'heim found "particularly interesting" (p. 36), is not included. Regrettably, it does not appear in the German edition either.

These two editions complement each other. Neither is ideal, but both are serious contributions in their own right. The German edition will be the choice of scholars, but the Ukrainian edition will satisfy most readers. Semenko has not yet been revealed fully, but these publications now make him a known quantity.

University of Alberta

REVIEWS

ASPECTS OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGE QUESTION. Vol. 1: CHURCH SLAVONIC—SOUTH SLAVIC—WEST SLAVIC. Vol. 2: EAST SLAVIC. Edited by *Riccardo Picchio* and *Harvey Goldblatt*, with *Suzanne Fusso.* Yale Russian and East European Publications, 4-a and 4-b. New Haven: Yale Consilium on International and Area Studies, 1984. Distributed by Slavica Publishers. Vol. 1—407 pp.; vol. 2—359 pp. $35.00 each.

The mysterious definite article in the title of these volumes is explained in Picchio's lead article, "Guidelines for a Comparative Study of the Language Question among the Slavs" (vol. 1, pp. 1–40). Picchio sees every question of language standardization—be it picky details of alphabet and orthography, or broad problems of what unwritten dialect or hoary classical language is to serve a given community, or scholastic squabbles about grammatical or rhetorical terminology—as somehow comparable to *the* Questione della lingua, namely, that series of controversies chiefly about style, involving competing models of "Italian" versus "Florentine" (exemplified by the works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio) versus Latin (both classical and ecclesiastical). The many Slavic communities confronted at various times with questions of what sort of written language they should use have rarely had anything really in common with the lofty atmosphere of humanistic Italy, and Picchio's generally useful survey of the communities and their problems is needlessly constrained by the elaborate terminology of *la Questione.* Happily, he concentrates on two terms: *dignitas,* i.e., "the appropriateness of a language to perform religious, social, or literary functions," and *norma.* In many of the Slavic situations, *dignitas* is reduced almost to "right to exist," whereas *norma* has its usual variable range of meaning. Accordingly, the seventeen authors of the eighteen contributions to these volumes make little effort to don Picchio's terminological straitjacket.

Volume 1 proceeds with Robert Mathiesen's succinct definition and cogent outline of the cultural spheres of the varieties of Church Slavonic (pp. 45–66); his discussion offers an excellent point of departure for further study of the manifold varieties of Middle and Late Slavonic that still are little known but of crucial importance for understanding East Slavic cultural history. Harvey Goldblatt scrutinizes the turgid *Treatise on the Letters* of Constantine of Kostenec, offering fanciful and not always accurate translations of key passages (pp. 67–98); the essentials are already in Mathiesen's article. Serbo-Croatian problems are well outlined in a general survey by Radoslav Katičić (pp. 261–295), a specific discussion of Croatian by Ivo Banac (pp. 198–259), and a more specialized piece

by Micaela S. Iovine (pp. 101–156) on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works written in the "Illyrian language," usually produced as an attempt to reach a broader South Slavic audience by inventing a sort of "Pan-Slavic" language. Giuseppe Dell'Agata (pp. 157–88) provides a first-rate historical sketch of the sociopolitical background and the work of men who labored to achieve a common Bulgarian written language up to about 1850. Rado L. Lenček (pp. 297–317) deftly delineates the background, rationale, and accomplishments of three key figures at a crucial time (1800–1830) in the creation of written standard Slovene: Jernej Kopitar, Matija Čop, and Francè Prešeren. František Svejkovský (pp. 321–36) defines conflicting currents in Czech literature and culture in the 1400s. In a fitting climax to the generally successful first volume, Maria Renata Mayenowa gives a magisterial essay on views about the standardization of Polish from about 1440 to about 1830 (pp. 337–76).

Volume 2, devoted to the East Slavic languages, opens with "A Historical Perspective on the Ukrainian Language Question" by Omeljan Pritsak (pp. 1–8), who has presented fresh views on the earliest period so tersely that most readers will miss them. Bohdan Struminsky surveys "The Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands before the Nineteenth Century" (pp. 9–47), starting out with the mistaken assumption that Old Church Slavonic was initially incomprehensible to Bulgarians and to East Slavs. An opinion dated 1274 concerning Slavonic books of the time tells us nothing about the eleventh or the tenth century. Struminsky's survey is instructive, but somewhat parochial and needlessly burdened with neologistic labels for various types of language. More modern problems are sketched by Paul R. Magocsi in separate articles about Galicia (pp. 49–64) and Subcarpathian Rus' (pp. 65–86). Belorussian is not treated, and the essays on Russian topics are uneven. Vladimir V. Kolesov provides data and some comments on the linguistic value of *azbukovniki* (pp. 87–123). Christopher D. Buck (pp. 187–233) examines how German, French, Latin, Slavonic, and Russian were used in the Imperial Russian Academy in the eighteenth century. Renate Lachmann (pp. 125–85) lovingly expounds the rhetorical terms used in a faulty seventeenth-century "Russian" translation of a Polish textbook. Is there the slightest evidence that this (or any other such) work had anything at all to do with the way contemporary Russians actually wrote? Boris M. Gasparov discusses "The Language Situation and the Linguistic Polemic in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Russia" (pp. 297–334), in effect an account of what some grammarians said and thought. Here it is clear enough that the polemics had little practical effect. Most illuminating is Boris A. Uspenskij's "The Language Program of N. M. Karamzin and its Historical Antecedents"

(pp. 235–96), with new archival materials and correspondingly new conclusions. Each volume ends with a bibliography covering all contributions, and a first-rate index.

Horace G. Lunt
Harvard University

CHRISTENTUM UND THEOLOGISCHE LITERATUR IN DER KIEVER RUS' (988–1237). By *Gerhard Podskalsky.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982. 361 pp. DM 158.

The religion of Kievan Rus' has long been in need of a modern guidebook. Since 1917 there have appeared some handbooks expressing confessional viewpoints (Kartashev), and interpretive works (Fedotov; parts of the work of Father Florovsky and George Vernadsky), but no basic reference work. At the same time, the subject has not stood still. Historians of literature, both Soviet and Western, have made great advances in the last forty years; they produced a few useful overviews, but their lack of primary interest in theology has meant that many crucial aspects of Orthodoxy in the Kiev period (as well as others) have gone unnoticed. The present volume fills that gap admirably, and provides one more testimony to the maturity of Slavic studies in the German-speaking countries.

Podskalsky covers both the institutional history of the church and the multitude of religious works produced in the various territories of Kievan Rus' up to the year 1237. His church history is concise but complete, covering the hierarchy, monasticism, church-state relations, and the international context of the church. Given the character of Kievan culture, the history of theology requires a survey of virtually all known writings except secular legal documents and the Igor' Tale. Even the chronicles are included in a brief section on their religious aspects. The format of the book is explicitly modeled on Hans-Georg Beck's classic *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*; it follows his example in providing for each topic or work a short description (in as neutral a manner as possible) and a few interpretative remarks that stay close to present scholarly opinion. Podskalsky provides every topic or religious work with a complete bibliography and each text with an annotated list of editions. The coverage of theology is very thorough, with sections on homiletics, ascetic writings, hagiography, dogmatics, canon law, pilgrimage tales, and liturgical poetry. The author has imposed two limits of scope on his book. First, he does not deal with works that are entirely unpublished, nor does he provide any introduction to manuscripts and paleography, leaving that to philologists. This means that certain topics poorly studied in the past, such as liturgy, are relatively neglected, since little of the relevant material has

been published. Second, he does not deal with art history. This limitation is perhaps more serious, since in church building and decoration the aesthetic element was probably as subordinate to the religious as in the composition of a saint's life, and the churches are important witnesses to the religious experience of the time. These intentional limitations are balanced, however, by his excellent account of the institutional history of the church, which is further enhanced by Andrzej Poppe's substantial appendix on the metropolitans and princes of Kievan Rus'. In a word, Podskalsky has produced a reference volume that is essential to every scholar working on the Kievan period, a volume that is fundamental in every sense.

Podskalsky's work is fundamental not only because of the completeness of the bibliography, but also because he shows good judgment and serious attention to the existing scholarly literature throughout. None of the arbitrary opinions and ill-informed generalizations that mar much of Western literature on Rus' appear here. Instead, he presents exactly what is and what is not known about the various topics, suggesting his own views only where absolutely necessary. As befits an author of what is basically a reference work, he does not try to fit everything into any overarching interpretations; yet, inevitably, a point of view does emerge. Podskalsky is convinced that the writings of Kievan Rus' were essentially works of theology and should be studied as such, whatever their literary qualities. In this observation he is undoubtedly correct, and it is time for historians of religion, as well, to pay attention to these writings. Another theme is that the relationship of Kievan to Byzantine theology was complex and not easily comprehended by the traditional generalizations. The author's previous work on Byzantine theology has helped him to avoid the usual pitfalls. Finally, he has produced a bit more than a fine handbook. In fact, he breaks new ground simply by systematically surveying areas largely neglected (anonymous and pseudepigraphic works, for example). Perhaps some of his conclusions are more traditional than the material requires, but the basic achievement of the book is very great indeed. It is both an authoritative survey of the religion of Kievan Rus' and a research tool of the highest quality.

Paul Bushkovitch
Yale University

ŚWIADOMOŚĆ NARODOWA SZLACHTY UKRAIŃSKIEJ I KOZACZYZNY OD SCHYŁKU XVI DO POŁOWY XVII W. By *Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel.* Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985. 189 pp.

This new book by Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel is a welcome addition to the relatively small number of studies devoted to the question of the rise of national consciousness among the "national minorities" of the Polish Commonwealth in the early modern period. The author attempts to "recreate a certain stage in the development of the national consciousness of the Ukrainian gentry and of the Cossacks from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth centuries." She adopts the symbolic temporal limits provided by the Union of Brest (1596) and the outbreak of the Xmel'nyc'kyj revolt (1648), on the grounds that this period of intense confessional competition for the allegiance of the Ruthenian nation provides an unusually large number of literary monuments dealing with the "Ruthenian Question." The author limits her investigation to two social classes, the gentry and the Cossacks, not because she assumes that national consciousness is lacking in the burgher class, but because these two groups stood at the center of the competition and left literary records of their debates.

The work begins with a discussion of theoretical and methodological problems connected with the study of national consciousness (chapter 1) and a survey of historiography and sources (chapter 2). The central part of the book is devoted to an investigation of the sources, both "direct" (polemical tracts, chronicles, official documents such as protestations, deeds, testaments, and correspondence) as well as "indirect" (reports of papal nuncios, ambassadors, and the envoys of the Venetian doges), in order to find evidence of a feeling of linguistic and historical community (chapter 3), of the role played by confessional identification in the development of national consciousness (chapter 4), and of the creation of national heroes (chapter 5, devoted to the images of Constantine Ostroz'kyj, Peter Mohyla, and Peter Konaševyč-Sahajdačnyj). Chapter 6 contains a contextual analysis of the way in which terms such as *naród, naród ruski, Ruś, ojczyzna, Polak,* and *Lach* function in the works of Ruthenian writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Finally, in chapter 7 there is a brief survey of the ways in which factors such as those discussed in the Ruthenian case helped the growth of national consciousness in Ireland, Italy, Bohemia, Slovakia, Lithuania, and Prussia.

The author's conclusions can be summarized as follows: (1) While it has long been accepted that the Xmel'nyc'kyj revolt contributed to the growth of national consciousness in the Ukraine, this phenomenon was present earlier and was itself an aspect of the uprising. (2) In the period in

question, a sense of national unity clearly existed among the Ruthenian gentry. (3) Although the case of the other social classes is less clear, there is reason to question the notion that the Cossacks lacked a feeling of confessional and national allegiance.

Chynczewska-Hennel can fairly claim to be, along with Frank E. Sysyn, one of a small number of scholars who have examined the significance of the slogan *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* not only from the standpoint of the formation of the "political Pole" but also from that of allegiance to the *gens Ruthena.* The methodology she employs—namely, the investigation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources for opinions on certain key issues such as language, history, confessional allegiance, and cult formation—is entirely fitting, and has borne and will continue to bear fruit.

It is unfortunate, however, that little care has been taken in the citation of sources. Wherever possible, original sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents should be cited, and not their nineteenth- and twentieth-century reprints (e.g., in the *Arxiv Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii* and the *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*) or studies containing excerpts (e.g., works by Hruševs'kyj and Voznjak), to which Chynczewska-Hennel regularly refers. All too often even the reprints, which are themselves full of mistakes, are cited carelessly. To consider just one case in point, on page 95 the title of a work by Meletij Smotryc'kyj has been given as *Weryfikacja niewinności* rather than *Verificatia niewinności,* as found in the original and the reprint. Further, on page 96, in the citation from *Verificatia,* the form *grubiańskiej* appears instead of the correct *hrubiańskiej,* found in both the original and the reprint. Finally, the author repeats the mistake found in the reprint by giving the reading *nierząd sromoty* instead of the correct *nierząd sromotny.* Further infidelities may be found in this passage and in many others.

A related problem stems from a lack of consistency in the language in which a source is cited. Some works originally written in Cyrillic letters are cited in Polish translation (with no indication that it is a translation and no credit given to the translator), while others are cited in an inconsistent transliteration. Italian sources, for the most part, are cited in Polish translation in the text and in the original in the footnotes.

This carelessness occasionally threatens to render a citation nonsensical (e.g., p. 131, where we read *Nierychlo drugij takij powstaniet' Zamoyskij' / sto by imiel' tak' piorom i pridati i wojski,* instead of . . . *Štoby umѣl rjadyty tak" pjurom i vojsky*), or at least to confuse the reader (e.g., p. 123, where "Herasym Smotrycki" and "Herasym Daniłłowicz" are referred to as two different figures). While the majority of the deviations I have found are of the lesser sort and do not change the general thrust of the argument, it seems to me that they are fundamental. It is not unimportant, for example, that Smotryc'kyj uses the Latin term *Verificatia* rather than the Polonized version *Weryfikacja,* or that he chooses to write *hrubiańskiej* in a particular passage and not *grubiańskiej.* More important is the general

question of fidelity to the sources. Chynczewska-Hennel does an admirable job of avoiding the ahistorical approach which has so often used the controversies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as a forum for discussing questions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century politics. She tries to let the sources themselves bear witness to the state of Ruthenian national consciousness. She perpetuates some of the mistakes of her predecessors, however, by not drawing on the sources directly and by not being careful enough with the documents she enlists.

In spite of these flaws, this is an important work, whose methodology, at least in theory, is sound and appropriate. The study provides many useful insights into the problems at hand and, perhaps most importantly, offers direction for further discussion.

David A. Frick
University of California, Berkeley

NA DALEKIEJ UKRAINIE: DZIEJE KOZACZYZNY DO 1648 ROKU. By *Władysław Serczyk*. Cracow and Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie [1984]. 373 pp., 51 pp. illus. 280 zł.

Władysław Serczyk has written a popular work on a topic of perennial interest to the Polish reader, the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Almost any book on a Ukrainian theme becomes a "bestseller" in Poland, due in part to the pent-up demand of a culturally-oppressed Ukrainian minority for any publication or artistic endeavor dealing with the Ukraine. As the publication of three editions of Zbigniew Wójcik's *Dzikie pola w ogniu* has shown, historical works on the Cossacks have an especially wide appeal, thanks largely to Poles' devotion to the Ukrainian school of the Polish Romantics and to the prose of Henryk Sienkiewicz. Although the Cossack theme has not occupied an equally important place in twentieth-century Polish literature, *Wydawnictwo Literackie* has correctly assumed that a well-written study of the Cossacks will appeal to Polish readers nurtured on the earlier literature.

One of the leading specialists in Ukrainian and Russian history in Poland, Władysław Serczyk has made significant contributions to the scholarly literature on the eighteenth century with his carefully researched works on the Haidamaks. He has also supplied the Polish reading public with a history of the Ukraine and with historical biographies of Ivan IV, Peter I, and Catherine II. Now his *Na dalekiej Ukrainie* provides a lively account of the Cossacks, based primarily on secondary literature. The inspiration for this study comes from two very different sources: the traditional East European fascination with the phenomenon of the Cossacks,

and the "New History," which seeks to describe and analyze all facets of life among all social strata.

Like earlier Polish historians of the Cossacks (Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, Zbigniew Wójcik, and Leszek Podhorecki), Serczyk has concentrated on aspects of the Cossacks' history related to Poland. He does so particularly by limiting his account to events before 1648. Unlike his predecessors, however, he has foregone a strictly narrative approach in favor of combining chronological with topical treatment. Each of his thirteen chapters deals with an aspect of Cossack life as it brings the story forward. Topics include the settlement of the Ukraine, economic activities, social customs, ecclesiastical affairs, legal procedures, and administrative structures. While the matching of the narrative and the thematic sections of each chapter is not always perfect, the device generally succeeds in holding the reader's attention.

The specialist in Ukrainian history can find useful information in the material gathered by Serczyk, but the book does not break new ground. In a few places (e.g., the description of Metropolitan Mohyla's election) Serczyk gives a distorted account of affairs; elsewhere he omits important materials (e.g., Metropolitan Iov Borets'kyi's *Protestacija* of 1621 glorifying the Cossacks). On the whole, Serczyk is a good and prolific writer, but in his more popular works his scholarship is not always meticulous, as is demonstrated in the book under review.

Both the specialist and the general reader will deplore the divergence between the stated topic of *Na dalekiej Ukrainie* and the material included in the volume. While the narrative history covers only the time up to 1648, much of the thematic material is drawn from the second half of the seventeenth and from the early eighteenth century. Serczyk must have found the sources on the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries too few and too inadequate for his thematic purposes. Some descriptions of later periods provide valid information about the earlier ones, but many others do not. For example, General Treasurer Iakov Markovych's notes in his diary for 16 March 1732 that "*pan* Michael arrived and played piquet with me" and for March 22 that "after dinner I played chess with General Semen Hryhorovych" (p. 240) tell us nothing about how Cossacks amused themselves at the Sich before 1648. Instead, they indicate how removed by the 1730s the elite society of the "Little Russian" Hetmanate had become from the life of the Zaporozhian Cossacks a century before. The frequent use of late sources is accompanied by sweeping assertions based on no definite evidence. Do we really know that "the Cossacks rarely enriched themselves in war" (p. 195), or that "Cossacks, if their life was not cut short by an enemy bullet or saber, in general lived a very long time" (p. 207)?

In the introduction, Serczyk says that he will return to the history of the Cossacks to depict the period after 1648—the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, the Cossack Hetmanate, and the New Sich. One hopes that the legitimate

desire to tell a colorful story will not again lead him to mix diverse periods and subjects. Professor Serczyk would best serve the Polish reader's appetite for Cossack lore by de-romanticizing the Cossack myth and unraveling the complexities of Cossack and Ukrainian historical development. He would still have a fascinating story to tell.

Frank E. Sysyn
Harvard University

RELIGIOUS REVOLT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE SCHISM OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH. By *Nickolas Lupinin.* Princeton, N.J.: The Kingston Press, Inc., 1984. 227 pp. $24.00.

The Raskol is a topic of Russian history that has been largely ignored by Western scholars. Lupinin's book, the first English monograph on the subject since Conybeare's *Russian Dissenters* (1921), does not offer any new insights. The author has not studied the historical sources, and relies on scholarship that has been largely outdated by recent Soviet work. Lupinin writes in the tradition of pre-revolutionary Russian church historians: he claims that church and religion played "a tremendous role" (p. 13) in Russian society, and that the Raskol was a religious split unaffected by social and political factors. The church hierarchy is depicted as trying to protect the interests of the "believing Russian People." The Old Believers appear as dogmatic sectarians unable to make any compromises.

The introductory chapters depict a harmonious relationship between "People and the Church" (p. 43) in the period before the schism. The author focuses on almsgiving, social work, and other forms of philanthropy. He thus sacrifices historical accuracy to writing a religious idyll. For example, Lupinin writes that "People" entered monasteries for "old age, sanctuary, escape from a brutal world, inner peace," giving in to the "very Russian wish to pray for the forgiveness of a lifetime's sinning" (p. 48). He does not question why northern monasteries were more popular in this regard than others. Was it solely "a crying of the soul for . . . contact with peace and humility" (p. 58) that attracted runaway peasants, monks, and lower clergy to the distant Solovki Monastery? Or did other factors come into play? Why did the Muscovite bureaucracy produce so much paperwork in its effort to retrieve these "pilgrims" to the north? (See, for instance, *Akty Kholmogorskoi i Ustiuzhskoi eparkhii*, RIB 14.)

In Lupinin's interpretation, the Raskol was the result of tragic misunderstandings and the personal shortcomings of the main actors in the drama. Nikon is presented as a man of "basic honesty and pride," who unfortunately had too many "autcratic [sic] flaws in [his] own character" (p. 93). Avvakum, on the other hand, is described as "a man of

great soul and narrow mind" (p. 115), distinguished by "his total inability to compromise. . .and, yes, sometimes his egregious folly" (p. 114). It would appear, then, that the Raskol could have been avoided.

Lupinin attributes Nikon's "abrupt way of forcing change" (p. 94) to the admonitions of Patriarch Paisios, who "impressed upon his listeners the advisability of bringing Russian service books in line with those of the Greek" (p. 128). The Greeks were also responsible for the alienation between Nikon and Aleksei. Their participation in the Council of 1667 led to the anathema of the Old Believers. With this act of excommunication, "the point of no return" (p. 171) had been reached, and the ensuing "struggle of the Nikonians and the Old Believers broke the power of the Church" (p. 190).

This framework of interpretation is familiar from numerous nineteenth-century studies by N. A. Kapterev and P. S. Smirnov. More recently S. Zenkovsky has adopted a similar approach. One gets the impression that Lupinin's book is largely an abridged English version of Zenkovsky's *Russkoe staroobriadchestvo* (1970). Like Zenkovsky, the author overlooks the social profile of the Old Belief, explaining the appeal of the Raskol to large sections of Russian society by "the halo of martyrdom" and a religious "mystique" (p. 145). Many of his other observations—regarding, for example, the *Ispravlenie knig* (p. 130), the Ukrainian scholar Slavynets'kyi (p. 138), or the Solovki uprising (p. 150)—parallel those in Zenkovsky's work.

The main weakness of Lupinin's monograph lies in his neglect of primary sources. Examples are numerous: The author remarks that the *Magnum speculum*, a text originating in Western Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, influenced seventeenth-century Russian literature, but he does not discuss how it came to Muscovy from Poland via the Ukraine. He also overlooks the text's influence on Old Belief writings (see D. Tschizhewskij [Čyževs'kyj], *Paradies und Hölle*, 1957). Lupinin reiterates A. Florovskii's statement that versions of the Czech Bible can be found in Russian libraries, but again he fails to consider whether the text could have been used by Old Believers. He complains that the eighteenth-century *Zhitie Nikona* was too critical of the patriarch (p. 85), but since the *Zhitie* was the end product of a long literary development beginning around 1650, an investigation of this tradition would have been more useful than outrage. The poems about the Antichrist (pp. 124, 180) also rely on motifs of early Raskol texts. Their transmission and dissemination are not studied by Lupinin.

Lupinin's neglect of textual materials goes hand-in-hand with his ignorance of current Soviet research on the Raskol. Soviet studies of the *Nasledie Avvakuma*, especially those by V. I. Malyshev, have indicated the necessity of revising traditional interpretations of Avvakum's writings. They have shown that the transmission of Old Belief manuscripts is very complex and in need of detailed study. The nineteenth-century source

publications on which Lupinin relies for paraphrases of Old Belief ideas in most cases reflect only one of several possible versions of the original text.

From the standpoint of Ukrainian scholarship, Lupinin's approach proves unsatisfying for yet another reason. Lupinin does not investigate a problem noticed long ago by K. V. Kharlampovich in his study *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (1914) and more recently by I. P. Eremin in an essay on Vyshens'kyi and Avvakum (*TODRL*, vol. 9 [1953]): namely, that Old Belief polemicists were, in fact, familiar with Ukrainian Orthodox writings from the end of the sixteenth century. For example, versions of Vyshens'kyi's anti-Latin treatises can be found in Old Believer *sborniki*. Similarly, copies of Broniewski's *Apokrysys* and Zyzanii's *Slovo ob Antikhriste* made their way into the library of the Vyg community. Such observations also apply to Kopystens'kyi's *Palinodiia* and polemical works attributed to Vasyl' Surazhs'kyi or Meletii Smotryts'kyi (see A. Mykhals'kyi, *Liber de Fide Pseudo-Nathanaelis. Fontes et analysis*, in *Analecta OSBM*, sec. 1, vol. 21 [1967]). The degree to which the Old Believers' world view might have been influenced by ideas current in the Ukraine before and after the Union of Brest deserves attention from scholars of the Raskol.

Lupinin's monograph is not an example of critical scholarship, nor does it further our current knowledge about the Raskol. What is needed at this point is the application of critical philological methods to the study of Old Belief texts.

Georg Michels
Harvard University

THE UKRAINIAN IMPACT ON RUSSIAN CULTURE, 1750–1850. By *David Saunders*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985. x, 415 pp. $19.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.

David Saunders's *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850* is an ambitious and highly imaginative, if not always persuasive work by a young British scholar. Throughout his study Dr. Saunders poses the intriguing question: what role did Ukrainians play in Russian cultural development after the abolition of Ukrainian autonomy? The author attempts to bridge the gap between Russian and Ukrainian history, to examine Russian-Ukrainian relations in their imperial setting, and to rehabilitate, for purposes of scholarship at least, those members of the Ukrainian elite who, in the words of the author, "threw in their lot with the Russians."

As the title of the book suggests, Saunders argues that the impact on Russian culture of the Ukrainian elite's northern reorientation was profound, though temporary. "By stressing the native, Slavic aspects of imperial culture," the author believes, "Ukrainians modified the Russians' understanding of what it meant to be Russian, preventing them from becoming wholly dependent on contemporary Western Europe." Saunders illustrates this point in two ways: first, by describing and analyzing the "northern migration" of the Ukrainian elite and, second, by examining the careers of a number of journalists, critics, and scholars (mostly Ukrainians) in whose work the "southern" theme was particularly strong. In the final chapter, he tries to explain why this Ukrainian contribution did not have a lasting effect. The increasingly rigid conception of nationality imposed by Tsar Nicholas's doctrine of "Official Nationality," in the author's view, "made it difficult for Ukrainian culture to find loyal expression within the empire" (p. 234). By the mid-nineteenth century, Saunders concludes, the Ukrainian intelligentsia began to think for themselves.

Yet the picture of Russian-Ukrainian relations that emerges is much more complex and ambiguous. To be sure, in terms of manpower alone, the Ukrainian contribution to the imperial enterprise was considerable. As Saunders explains, the Ukraine, particularly Kiev and the Left-Bank Ukraine, by virtue of their superior educational tradition, provided the Russian capitals with a ready supply of civil servants, journalists, writers, musicians, artists, scholars, and students. Even the relative decline of Ukrainian educational institutions at the end of the eighteenth century did not reverse this trend; Ukrainians living in the north continued to arrange employment, appointments, and contacts for their kinsmen from the south. St. Petersburg, in the oft-quoted characterization of the Ukrainian writer and Poltava "émigré" Ievhen Hrebinka, appeared in 1834 to be "a colony of educated Little Russians." "The whole bureacracy, all the academies, all the universities," he noted, "are full of our fellow-countrymen."

Most certainly, the Ukrainian presence in St. Petersburg and Moscow contributed to a heightened Russian awareness of the "south." The increasing participation of such Ukrainians as Vasyl' Ruban, Fedir Tumans'kyi, and Orest Somov in Russian literary life corresponded to an increase in the publication of information concerning the Ukraine. Ukrainian themes, treated in Russian, became a regular and accepted feature of Russian reading fare. The Ukrainian school of Russian literature—a phenomenon which the author regrettably does not discuss—was perhaps the fullest expression of Russian-Ukrainian literary collaboration.

The author's presentation of the extent to which the "northern migration" of the Ukrainian political and cultural elite between 1750 and 1850 not simply heightened awareness about the "south," but actually initiated

Russians into some wider world of Slavdom (and thereby saved Russians from becoming dependent on Western culture!) is rather unclear. Indeed, what is striking about Saunders's account is how little the "southerners" stimulated the "northerners" to examine the differences between them, and how easily Russians were able to discount the quintessential autonomy or "foreignness" of the Ukrainian historical and cultural tradition—in other words, how little they actually thought about the "south." Those Russians who lived or had lived in the Ukraine (Tsertelev, Kachenovskii, Sreznevskii, etc.) constituted a notable exception, although by the late 1850s even Sreznevskii had repudiated his earlier views on the separate existence of a Ukrainian language. The "northerners" proper seem to have been far less troubled by their contact with the "south"—a contact made, for the most part, through the medium of a Russian-speaking Ukrainian gentry. When, for example, in the 1830s and 1840s the Ukrainian cultural revival caught the attention of Russian educated society, it did so precisely because it was perceived as a native (not just Slavic) phenomenon, as a vital aid to understanding "Russian" antiquity and "Russian" national character, and as a reaffirmation of Russian (as opposed to Polish) claims to the Right-Bank Ukraine. With the "Little Russians," the "Great Russians" naturally assumed a degree of cultural intimacy unknown in their relations with the Poles or other Slavs.

The Ukrainian migration that Saunders describes was not, in fact, a cultural encounter between two entirely unacquainted peoples. Herein, I venture to say, lies the key to the "northern" response. Long before the complete integration of the Ukrainian territories into the Russian Empire, a conceptual framework for north-south relations was already in place. Elaborated by ecclesiastical circles in seventeenth-century Kiev—those "southerners" who first paved the "Great North Road"—this "compromise" was based on the idea of a shared "Russian" identity, a common Orthodox heritage, a common Rus' origin, and a common historical destiny. Notions of "ethnicity" per se did not enter into consideration. It is in this greater intellectual context that the growing exasperation of both the government and Russian intellectuals with Ukrainian "tribal particularism"—of which language was emblematic—must be understood. With the discovery of the secret Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius in 1847, the revolt of the Habsburg national minorities in 1848–49, and Russia's crushing defeat in the Crimean War, whatever tolerance for the independent spirit of this "branch of the Russian family" may have once existed quickly gave way to a set of larger, more pressing political and cultural concerns.

For the Ukrainians the end of autonomy and the subsequent northern reorientation posed a more immediate challenge. Much of *The Ukrainian Impact* is, in fact, devoted to these Ukrainians themselves. And in this respect—as a study of the Ukrainian elite and its efforts to succeed in the capitals of the Russian Empire, to refashion its Little Russian identity and

adjust to a new imperial role—the book proves most valuable. Tracing the careers of several journalists, scholars, and members of the Ukrainian group at the Russian court, Saunders reveals how their background continued to have meaning in practical as well as abstract terms. Here we see the web of "southern" connections that helped Dmytro Troshchyns'kyi and others to advance in government service. Here we see the Ukrainian subscribers who helped sustain Fedir Tumans'kyi's first publishing venture.

Here we also see how Ukrainians, despite the increasing importance of their larger Russian identity, often retained a deep intellectual attachment to the "south." The very term *iuzhno-russkii* (South Russian)—which became popular with Ukrainian intellectuals in the nineteenth century—was at once an assertion of individuality and a claim to full Russian citizenship. Regardless of whether they styled themselves as integrationists, cultural pluralists, pan-Russians, or pan-Slavs, many Ukrainian writers and scholars, as Saunders's account proves, repeatedly returned to the Ukraine in their work. To a hitherto unsuspected degree, the "south" continued to dominate the cultural and historical, if not always political, imagination of the Ukrainian elite.

The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture is a provocative and richly rewarding book, to be sure. Based on extensive research in Soviet archives, it represents a major breakthrough in the study of an alternately scorned and neglected group. On this basis alone, Dr. Saunders's study merits the serious attention of scholars.

Olga A. Andriewsky
Harvard University

MYCHAJLO HRUŠEVS'KYJ: BIOBIBLIOGRAPHISCHE QUELLE 1866–1934. By *Lubomyr R. Wynar.* Munich: Ukrainische Freie Universität, 1984. 68 pp.

This latest contribution by Professor Wynar to studies concerning Hrushevs'kyi comprises an article comparing the 1906 and 1926 autobiographies of Hrushevs'kyi as sources for the study of his life and work; a brief bibliography of works about him; and reprints of Anton Palme's "M. Hruschewskyj als Persönlichkeit" and Hrushevs'kyi's famous 1904 lecture criticizing the traditional "all-Russian" scheme of the history of the East Slavs.

Wynar's article on the two autobiographies tells us relatively little that the author has not already told us in his other works on Hrushevs'kyi, although the exercise in comparative autobiography is not without interest. The bibliography may have benefited by the inclusion of a few works that

the author seems to have overlooked, such as the obituaries that appeared in various Soviet publications (*Visti VUTsVK*, *Chervonyi shliakh*, *Visti Vseukrains'koi Akademii nauk*) after the historian's death in 1934. Even M. A. Rubach's lengthy denunciation of Hrushevs'kyi's views, serialized in *Chervonyi shliakh* in 1932, has historical value which would merit its inclusion (despite an obvious tendentiousness), whereas Andrii Richyts'kyi's Marxist reply to Hrushevs'kyi's *Pochatky hromadianstva* (in *Chervonyi shliakh*, 1924, no. 3) seems to represent an interesting clash between Engelsian orthodoxy and Hrushevs'kyi's own genetic (developmental) sociology as theories of historical development.

Nevertheless, those who read German but not Ukrainian will find Lubomyr Wynar's pamphlet a useful introduction to the life and work of the man who first placed Ukrainian history on a firm scholarly foundation, and became the first president of the Ukrainian National Republic.

James E. Mace
Harvard University

COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE. Edited by *Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone*. Second edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984. 391 pp. $25.00 cloth, $8.95 paper.

In an era when virtually every region of the world has gained in geopolitical importance, a collection of informative essays on Eastern Europe fills a gap both for the area specialist and the student of politics. For too long the East European countries—with the possible exception of Yugoslavia—have been described as mere appendages to, or mirror images of, the Soviet Union. Analogously, most North American universities have subordinated their East European programs (teaching and research) to a position of inferiority vis-à-vis Russian and Soviet studies. While this neglience is *prima facie* understandable—especially in a period of shrinking academic resources—it has contributed not only to an alarming level of intellectual ignorance about Eastern Europe, but also to some serious misconceptions about the formulation of American policies toward that area of the world.

The most important merit of this collection of essays lies in the authors' attempt to analyze each country at hand in relation to the Soviet Union, while refraining from portraying each as a replica of their common powerful neighbor. In the eight chapters discussing individual countries—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia—and in the four thematic chapters—dealing with Eastern Europe's position in the world, the region's

economies, its relationship to the Soviet Union, and the issue of nationalism—two themes emerge: this area's increasingly divergent political, economic, and cultural development from that of the Soviet Union—which, of course, does not (yet) mean its independence from Soviet domination; and, concomitantly, a growing intraregional differentiation which promises to accentuate the already considerable disparities among the area's eight countries.

Although in some ways this collection resembles a generalist's textbook, it avoids the usual drawbacks besetting such publications. To the credit of their authors, the essays avoid detailed descriptions of events and institutions in favor of analysis of historical trends and underlying structures. Rather than overwhelming the reader with an array of public officials and their respective roles in institutional hierarchies, most chapters concentrate on the development of economic policies and the formation of political strategies, thereby providing a welcome departure from the often boring approach to the study of East European affairs found in comparable textbooks. It is equally to the volume's credit that each chapter lends particular emphasis to developments of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The book's timeliness allows it to focus on centrifugal tendencies which may produce differences among the East European countries as pronounced as those which have thus far separated them as a group from their West European neighbors. This is in no way to imply that the commonalities that have created the analytically valid cluster called "Eastern Europe" since 1945 are about to disappear. Clearly, all these countries continue to experience the political monopoly of their respective Communist parties; none of their internal economies follows the principles of the market; and daily activities in their civil societies lack the freedoms that are the essence of liberal democracy in Western Europe. However, if one looks at problems such as finding a niche in the increasingly competitive world market, or attaining the optimal balance between an industrial economy and the protection of the environment, hitherto stark contrasts between Eastern and Western Europe become blurred. A careful reader of this book cannot help but come away with the impression that convergence between Eastern and Western Europe—although along somewhat different axes than previously predicted—will substantially influence the future relationship between these two still very different social systems.

Of the studies on individual countries, the chapter by Arthur M. Hanhardt, Jr. on the German Democratic Republic draws the parallels between East and West most clearly. Hanhardt discusses the importance of the peace movement in East German politics and correctly assesses the changing role of youth and intellectuals in the East Germany of the 1980s, a phenomenon with many parallels in the West. Had Hanhardt gone one step further in discussing the renewed interest within the German Democratic Republic in the German past—including fascination with such unlikely Communist heroes as Frederick the Great and Otto von

Bismarck—he could have shown another convergence between East and West. West Germany is also in the process of trying to define its political identity by invoking historical "godfathers" and common experiences in German history.

If a major problem for the German Democratic Republic is to find its historical identity, then for Hungary, says Bennett Kovrig, it is to find an economic identity. Departing from the orthodox centralism of a state-run economy, yet clearly not embracing the market as the allocative mechanism for goods and services, the Hungarians have succeeded in constructing a model which not only gives them a decent and secure material existence, but also enhances managerial efficiency and personal liberties to hitherto unknown proportions. Kovrig shows convincingly that part of the genesis of this "Hungarian model" (which has recently captured the interest of Western scholars of industrial sociology and political economy) derives from the legacy of the revolution of 1956 and the ensuing period of reconstruction managed by János Kádár. To the author's credit, the chapter also contains a brief discussion of the detrimental consequences which these reforms inevitably entail for a certain segment of the Hungarian population, once again underlining the fact that in politics even the most beneficial and humane measures necessarily hurt some minorities.

Of particular interest is the chapter on Poland by Andrzej Korboński. Giving a detailed account of the events from August 1980 that brought about the rise and fall of Solidarity—at its peak the world's largest voluntary labor organization—the author leaves little doubt that the major struggle in Poland concentrated on "political identity." Korboński devotes considerable attention to demonstrating how the cleavages which developed as Poland searched for this political identity affected virtually every structure in Polish society, including Solidarity, the Catholic church, the Communist party, and the military. The reader comes away with the impression that the internal conflicts afflicting Solidarity and its allies, on the one hand, and the armed forces and party, on the other, were perhaps as acute as the political differences separating the two antagonists.

The saddest case, at least to this reviewer, is presented by Romania. In the best essay of this collection, Walter M. Bacon, Jr. demonstrates superbly how the Romanian rulers headed by the Ceauşescu family succeeded in imposing a brutal, inefficient, and corrupt Stalinist dictatorship on the Romanian people, solely to forge a national identity. Bacon shows that Romania's much-vaunted autonomy in foreign relations—which has endeared it to many Western politicians—remains an artifact of Eastern Europe's most reprehensible tyranny. While this point alone would be sufficient to dispel once and for all among American readers the myth that a country which frequently approximates our line in its foreign affairs must be virtuous in its domestic politics, it lends further testimony to the vacuity and danger of hypernationalist politics and jingoism. This route never

led to an acceptable solution of internal problems, especially in Eastern Europe. In sum, the essays in this volume provide a worthy scholarly contribution to a neglected field.

Andrei S. Markovits
Boston University

EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONAL MINORITIES, 1919–1980: A HANDBOOK. Edited by *Stephan M. Horak.* Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, 1985. xv, 353 pp. $47.50 in the U.S., $57.00 elsewhere.

The appearance of this new handbook on East European national minorities since World War I is a welcome event, because it provides indispensable information to scholars in the field. Professor Horak's intelligent and succinct introduction will be of much value to non-specialists who are entering the field, whereas the volume's final contribution, Theodore Veiter's "Nationality Research Centers in Eastern European Countries," provides an excellent point of departure for those who want to delve into it more deeply.

The volume's essays and attendant bibliographies are somewhat uneven, but are overall of high quality. Kenneth Farmer writes on Poland's minorities, Joseph Kalvoda on Czechoslovakia's, Martin Kovacs on Hungary's, Stephen Fischer-Galati on Romania's, Toussaint Hočevar on Yugoslavia's—including the Slovene and Croat minorities in Italy and Austria after 1945 (why not earlier?)—Peter John Georgeoff on Bulgaria's, and Stephan Horak on Albania's. Fischer-Galati deserves particular praise for his forthright treatment of latent anti-Semitism, which he considers an integral component of Romanian national ideology. The same can be said about most East Central European nationalisms, but it is an issue around which many scholars tread very lightly.

Since a work of this nature is inherently selective, every reader will perceive gaps and think of other material which should have been covered. I, for one, would have liked material on postwar East Germany, particularly on the fate of the Lusatian Sorbs, to be included. The most obvious failure of the compilers is their neglect of Soviet monographs and documentary sources, mainly on Communist movements among interwar Poland's Ukrainians and Belorussians. Two titles conspicuously absent are Ievhen Halushko's *Narysy ideolohichnoi ta orhanizatsiinoi diial'nosti KPZU* (Lviv, 1965) and the three-volume collection of documents on the Western Ukrainian communist movement entitled *Pid praporom Zhovtnia: Vplyv Velykoi zhovtnevoi sotsialistychnoi revoliutsii na pidnesennia revoliutsiinoho rukhu v Zakhidnii Ukraini* (Lviv, 1957–1966). The volumes of the

series *Istoriia mist i sil URSR* that deal with oblasts outside the USSR in the interwar period also merited mention. But, of course, a handbook only includes a selection of works which the compilers believe the most important. It is far easier to quibble over final content than to create a reference work having the magnitude of this one.

James E. Mace
Harvard University

THE EMPIRE OF KNOWLEDGE: THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE USSR (1917–1970). By *Alexander Vucinich.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984. 484 pp. $29.95.

The interrelationship between a holistic political ideology and the search for knowledge in the Soviet Union has long been fertile ground for scholarly study. Yet Professor Vucinich is the first Western scholar to undertake a comprehensive survey of the development of the institution that stands at the summit of Soviet science and scholarship.

There are a few shortcomings in this otherwise competent and useful monograph. Relatively short shrift is accorded to the social sciences and humanities, given the weight such fields as history had in the academy during the early Soviet period. The author is concerned almost exclusively with the interrelationship between official philosophy and the natural sciences, and with the institution's response to Western discoveries.

The 1920s were, in fact, a period of great uncertainty for the Academy of Sciences. Events of that decade are crucial to understanding the institution's subsequent development. Whereas the author gives a good survey of central structures that competed with the academy, such as the Communist Academy and RANION, he tells us virtually nothing about those along the Soviet Union's periphery. For example, the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) built a separate and largely parallel system of scholarly entities and actively disputed the Russian academy's claims to all-Union status, but it is barely mentioned; nor is M. S. Hrushevs'kyi, who was the moving spirit behind this institutional rivalry. V. I. Vernads'kyi, a crucial figure in Vucinich's narrative, was the first president of VUAN, but even this fact is relegated to a footnote. The very fact that in 1925 the Russian Academy of Sciences was officially accorded all-Union status, with its name changed to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, is never mentioned, though this, too, was crucial to its future development. The omission seems strange, because mention of the change would have fit perfectly with what the author (p. 101) notes as a government "effort to dislodge it [the Russian academy] from its position of preeminent

influence in the national system of scientific institutions."

Nevertheless, Professor Vucinich's work remains a useful addition to the genre pioneered by David Joravsky, Loren Graham, Mark Adams, and others. It will be useful to those interested in the politics of ideas in the USSR.

James E. Mace
Harvard University

THE LOST ARCHITECTURE OF KIEV. By *Titus D. Hewryk.* New York: The Ukrainian Museum, 1982. 64 pp. maps, illustrations. $7.50 paper.

Titus Hewryk's useful little book, *The Lost Architecture of Kiev*, represents an important first step in producing a missing chapter in the history of the architecture of Kiev—a chapter dealing with the systematic destruction of many of Kiev's architectural monuments in the name of progressive urban planning. Written in conjunction with a photographic exhibition of Kievan architecture organized at the Ukrainian Museum in New York, Hewryk's catalogue provides a sober account of the intentional dismantling of Kiev's architectural heritage during the 1930s, ostensibly to make room for grandiose civic projects, which for the most part were never realized. Despite the lack or unavailability of documentary evidence concerning the architectural policies conceived and implemented in the Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s and 1930s, Hewryk has been able to piece together the story of a careless and insensitive bureaucracy running amok as Stalin's forces tightened their grip on the Ukraine and attempted to stamp out signs of "bourgeois nationalism" in whatever form it might take.

A thoughtful introductory essay traces the fate of Kievan architecture after the revolution, first in the spontaneous and haphazard destruction of religious buildings and art (1917–22); then in the opposing currents that sought to close down churches on the one hand, but preserve and restore historical and cultural landmarks on the other (1923–29); and, finally, in the wholesale destruction of many of Kiev's finest architectural monuments, as part of an ill-conceived plan to alter the face of the "mother of Russian cities" to reflect the new socialist order and thus deprive "decadent" Ukrainian nationalism of its more obvious, tangible symbols. Fortunately the plans to create a pompous neoclassical center on the Kievan acropolis were not realized; nonetheless architectural landmarks of inestimable cultural value were razed without anything ever being built in their place. Hewryk places the major responsibility for this destructive program on Pavel Postyshev, the leading Moscow representative on the special government commission that implemented the master plan for

Kiev. We may never know the complete story of the lost architecture of Kiev, but Hewryk's well-researched contribution is an important beginning, illuminating as it does the dark side of Soviet architectural history, one that is typically content with noting the nonpreservation or dismantling of religious edifices without further explanation.

The catalogue proper is divided into five sections according to the geographical location of the monuments: Uppertown (Hora), Lowertown (Podil), the Xreščatyk Avenue, the Cave region (Pečers'ke), and the Periphery. Following a brief cultural and political description of each location, Hewryk provides a historical entry for each major monument now destroyed, supplemented with numerous photographs (some from private collections and published for the first time), maps, plans, elevations, and engravings. Among the more important of the nearly thirty entries are the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Cave Monastery (1078, demolished in 1941), a major repository of old Kievan culture and an important prototype for the twelfth-century architecture of Vladimir-Suzdal'; the Cathedral of St. Michael of the Golden Domes (1108–1113, demolished in 1935–36), noted for its frescoes and magnificent Byzantine mosaics, stylistically superior to those in St. Sophia's and hastily and incompletely removed before demolition; and the Cathedral of the Pyrohošča Mother of God (1132, demolished in 1935), the main church of the Lowertown's merchants and artisans. In his account of the destruction of the Cathedral of the Dormition, Hewryk suggests that the Germans and the retreating Soviets share the blame in equal measure (the latter may very well have mined the building), in contradiction to the official Soviet account that holds the Nazis alone responsible.

Hewryk's prose is free of rhetoric and invective; the tragedy of a lost architectural heritage in Kiev emerges eloquently from the descriptive text and accompanying photographs, not from any anti-Soviet diatribe. Particularly poignant is the juxtaposition of photographs of monuments before, during, and after demolition.

If there is any real flaw in Hewryk's presentation, it is his failure to make a connection between the destruction of Kiev's ecclesiastical heritage in architecture and the wanton neglect or outright destruction of churches in Russia, most especially in Moscow. One need only recall that in 1928 the Soviets destroyed a number of ancient religious structures in the Kremlin itself, including the Monastery of the Ascension (14th c.), the Church of the Savior in the Pine Forest (14th c.) and the Chudov Monastery (16th c.). In 1931 Konstantin Ton's Russo-Byzantine Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer was dynamited to make room for a projected "Stalin Gothic" Palace of Soviets, an edifice that was never built. Today the space along the Volxonka is occupied by the public swimming facility "Moskva."

Except for a few lapses in English, the text is remarkably free of errors. We note in passing, however, that the Cathedral of St. Michael of the Golden Domes was built in 1108–1113 by Sviatopolk II (reigned 1093–1113), not by Sviatoslav II (reigned 1073–76). Also, we should add that the second-floor gallery in Kiev's Cathedral of Saint Sophia is no longer closed to the public. It is possible to see both the secular frescoes from the north and south stairwells of Saint Sophia, and a portion of the remarkable mosaics from the Cathedral of Saint Michael of the Golden Domes. The catalogue ends with a brief select bibliography, oddly lacking entries more recent than 1968. Some relevant additions would be *Architecture of Russia from Old to Modern*, 2 vols. (Baldwin Place, N.Y., 1973–74); *Razrušennye i oskvernennye xramy. Moskva i Srednjaja Rossija s poslesloviem "Predely vandalizma"* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1980); Ju. S. Asjejev, *Arxitektura Kyjivs'koji Rusi* (Kiev, 1969), and *Arxitektura drevnego Kieva* (Kiev, 1982); and A. V. Kudryc'kyj, ed., *Kyjiv. Istoryčnyj ohljad (karty, iljustraciji, dokumenty)* (Kiev, 1982).

These minor quibbles aside, Hewryk's contribution to the architectural history of Kiev is a major one. It documents Kiev's lost architectural heritage, and it also provides direct evidence of the political and social value of architecture for the rulers and the ruled—thus underscoring the need to view all architecture, whether ancient Kievan or Stalinist, within the context that created or destroyed it.

Michael S. Flier
University of California at Los Angeles

BOOKS RECEIVED

Arkheolohiia: Respublikans'kyi mizhvidomchyi zbirnyk. No. 45. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 98 pp.

ASIEIEVA, N. Iu. Ukrains'ko-frantsuz'ki khudozhni zv"iazky 20–30kh rokiv XX st. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 125 pp.

ASHER, Oksana Dray-Khmara, ed. Letters from the Gulag: The Life, Letters, and Poetry of Michael Dray-Khmara. New York, NY: Robert Speller and Sons, 1983. 164 pp. $15.00.

ASTER, Howard, and Potichnyj, Peter J. Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: Two Solitudes. Oakville, Ont.: Mosaic Press, 1983. 70 pp.

ATKINSON, Dorothy. The End of the Russian Land Commune, 1905–1930. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983. 455 pp. $29.50.

BAHMET, Andrii. Slovnyk synonimiv ukrains'koi movy. Vol. 1: A–P. New York, Paris, Sydney, Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1982. 465 pp.

BALAN, Jars, ed. Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 158 pp. $7.95 (Can.).

BALAN, Jars. Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984. 152 pp. $29.95 (Can.).

BANAC, Ivo, and Bushkovitch, Paul, eds. The Nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1983. 220 pp. $18.50.

BARKA, Vasyl'. Svidok sontsia shestykrylykh: Strofichnyi roman. 4 vols. [n.p.]: Sučasnist', 1981. $100.00.

BARRINGER, Robert, ed. Rome and Constantinople: Essays in the Dialogue of Love. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1984. 86 pp.

BERDNYK, Oles'. Povist'. Munich: Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo, 1981. 255 pp.

BILOVUS, Anastasia. My Life Memoirs, 1914–1982. Florida: Ukrapress, 1982. 80 pp.

BINYON, Michael. Life in Russia. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983. 286 pp. $15.95.

BIRNBAUM, Henrik, and Flier, Michael S., eds. Medieval Russian Culture. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984. 396 pp. $35.00.

BOICHUK, Bohdan. Virshi: Vybrani i peredostanni. New York: Sučasnist', 1983. 199 pp.

BOJKO-BLOCHYN, Jurij. Gegen den Strom: Ausgewälte Beiträge zur Geschichte der slavischen Literaturen. 360 pp. DM 86.

CARMICHAEL, Joel, ed. The Russian Revolution, 1917: A Personal Record by N. N. Sukhanov. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983. 691 pp. $12.50.

CHYNCZEWSKA-HENNEL, Teresa. Świadomość narodowa szlachty ukraińskiej i kozaczyzny od schułku XVI do połowy XVII w. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukove, 1985. 187 pp. 160 zł.

CROWL, James William. Angels in Stalin's Paradise. Western Reporters in Soviet Russia, 1917–1937: A Case Study of Louis Fischer and Walter Duranty. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1982. 224 pp. $10.75.

CUNNINGHAM, James W. A Vanquished Hope: The Movement for Church Renewal in Russia, 1905–1906. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981. 384 pp. $9.95.

CZUMER, William A. Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981. 176 pp. $5.95 (Can.).

DANIELS, Robert V. Russia: The Roots of Confrontation. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985. 411 pp. $25.00.

DAWIDOWICZ, Lucy S. The Holocaust and the Historians. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981. 187 pp. $15.00.

DEAL, Zack J., III. Serf and State Peasant Agriculture: Kharkov Province, 1842–1861. New York: Arno Press, 1981. 460 pp. $43.00.

DIDIUK, Vasyl'. Na narodnii nyvi: Narysy, statti-komentari, reportazhi. Vol. 2. Toronto: 1985. 400 pp.

DIMA, Nicholas. Bessarabia and Bukovina: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. 173 pp. $20.00.

DIMNIK, Martin. Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224–1246. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981. 199 pp. $14.00 (Can.).

DOMBROVS'KYI, Oleksandr, ed. Liubomyr R. Vynar: Istoryk, pedahoh, bibliohraf. Munich, New York, Toronto: 1982. 70 pp. $6.00.

DUNLOP, John B. The Faces of Contemporary Russian Nationalism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983. 363 pp. $32.50.

EMMONS, Terrence. The Formation of Political Parties and the First National Elections in Russia. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1983. 529 pp. $45.00.

EVANS, John L. The Kievan Russian Principality, 860–1240. Orlando, FL: Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 1983. 127 pp. $12.00.

La Famine-Genocide de 1933 en Ukraine Soviétique. Vol. 1. Paris, 1983.

FITZPATRICK, Sheila, ed. Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928–1931. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984. 309 pp. $9.95.

FLETCHER, William C. Soviet Believers: The Religious Sector of the Population. Lawrence, KS: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1981. 259 pp. $27.50.

Forum: Obshchestvenno-politicheskii zhurnal. No. 8. Edited by V. Malinkovich. Munich: Sučasnist', 1984. 237 pp.

FRANK, Joseph. Dostoevsky: The Years of Ordeal, 1850–1859. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983. 320 pp. $25.00.

FRANKO, Ivan. Ivan Vyshens'kyi: Poema. Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka, vol. 198, pp. 167–212. Reprinted, New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1983.

FULLER, William C. Civil-Military Conflict in Imperial Russia, 1881–1914. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985. 295 pp. $39.50.

GOBLER, E., and Wohr, Rudolf, eds. Vor 200 Jahren aus der Pfalz nach Galizien und in die Bukowina: Festschrift zur 200-jährigen Wiederkehr der Auswanderung unserer Vorfahren, 1782–1982. Stuttgart: 1982. 147 pp.

GOOD, David F. The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984. 309 pp. $32.00.

GRANT, Steven A. Scholars' Guide to Washington, DC, for Russian and Soviet Studies. 2nd rev. ed. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983. 416 pp. $29.95.

HERZEN, Alexander. My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982. 684 pp. $32.50.

HEWRYK, Titus D. The Lost Architecture of Kiev. New York: The Ukrainian Museum, 1982. 64 pp. $7.50.

HIMKA, John-Paul. Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism, 1860–1890. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983. 244 pp. $15.95.

HORAK, Stephan M. Eastern European National Minorities, 1919–1980: A Handbook. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1985. 369 pp. $47.50.

HORAK, Stephan M. Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: A Bibliographic Guide to Recommended Books for Small and Medium-sized Libraries and School Media Vendors. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1985. 387 pp. $27.50.

HORBAL', Mykola. Detali pishchanoho hodynnyka. Poezii ta pisni. Edited by Nadia Svitlychna. New York: Sučasnist', 1983. 398 pp.

HOVERLIA, Stepan. Hrani kul'tury: Do serii "Politychni lektsii dlia ukrains'koi molodi." London: Ukrainian Publishers, Ltd., 1984. 184 pp. $10.00.

HROCH, Miroslav. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations. Translated by Ben Fowkes. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1985. 220 pp. $44.50.

HRYTSENKO, P. Iu. Modeliuvannia systemy dialektnoi leksyky. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 225 pp.

HUNCZAK, Taras, ed. Ukraina i Pol'shcha v dokumentakh, 1918–1922. Parts 1 and 2. New York, Paris, Sydney, Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1983. 924 pp. (2 pts.)

HUNCZAK (Hunchak), Taras, ed. UPA v svitli nimets'kykh dokumentiv. Vols. 6 and 7. Toronto: Vyd. litopys UPA, 1983.

IARMUS', Stepan. Dukhovnist' ukrains'koho narodu: Korotkyi oriientatsiinyi narys. Introduction by Iu. Mulyk-Lutsyk. Winnipeg: Research Institute of Volyn, 1983. 227 pp.

Istoricheskie traditsii filosofskoi kul'tury SSSR i sovremennost': Sbornik nauchnykh trudov. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 359 pp.

Istoriia L'vova. Edited by V. V. Sekretariuk et al. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 411 pp.

Istoriia narodnoho hospodarstva Ukrains'koi RSR (u 3-kh knyhakh). Vols. 1 and 2. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. Vol. 1–463 pp.; vol. 2–439 pp.

JACKSON, Robert Louis. The Art of Dostoevsky: Deliriums and Nocturnes.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981. 380 pp. $25.00.

JACOBS, Everett M., ed. Soviet Local Politics and Government. London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1983. 225 pp. $28.50.

JANECEK, Gerald. The Look of Russian Literature. Avant-Garde. Visual Experiments, 1900–1930. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. 314 pp. $47.50.

JANIW (Ianiv), Volodymyr, ed. Tserkva i relihiia v Ukraini: 50 lit pislia zhovtnevoi revoliutsii, 1917–1967. Naukovi zapysky Ukrains'koho vil'noho universytetu, 11–12. Munich, 1984. 253 pp.

JEDRUCH, Jacek. Constitutions, Elections, and Legislatures of Poland, 1493–1977: A Guide to their History. New York: University Press of America, 1982. 589 pp. $25.00.

JONES, Peter d'A., and Holli, Melvin G., eds. Ethnic Chicago. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdman, 1981. 384 pp. $14.00.

KAMENETSKY, Ihor, ed. Nationalism and Human Rights: Processes of Modernization in the USSR. Littleton, Colo.: 1977. 246 pp. $18.50.

KANN, Robert A., and Zdenek, David. The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526–1918. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1984. 560 pp. $30.00.

KARATNYTS'KA, Nadiia, ed. Holod na Ukraini, 1932–1933: Vybrani statti. Sučasnist', 1985. 143 pp.

KASINEC, Edward, and Struminsky, Bohdan. The Millennium Collection of Old Ukrainian Books at the University of Toronto Library: A Catalogue. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. 33 pp.

KASINEC, Edward. Slavic Bookmen: Papers and Essays. New York: Russica Publishers, Inc., 1984. 193 pp.

KHUDASH, M. L. Z istorii ukrains'koi antroponimii. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1977. 235 pp.

KHYMYNETS', Iulian. Moi sposterezhennia iz Zakarpattia. New York: Karpats'kyi soiuz, 1984. 168 pp.

KIPARSKY, Valentin. Russian Historical Grammar. Vol. 1: The Development of the Sound System. Translated from the German by J. I. Press. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1979. 186 pp. $17.50.

KLENIN, Emily. Animacy in Russian: A New Interpretation. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1983. 139 pp. $12.95.

KLEIN, Richard G. Ice-Age Hunters of the Ukraine. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973. 140 pp. $4.50.

KLIBANOV, A. I. History of Religious Sectarianism in Russia, 1860s–1917. Translated by S. P. Dunn. Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1982. 450 pp. $49.50.

KOROPECKYJ, I. S., ed. Selected Contributions of Ukrainian Scholars to Economics. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1984. 229 pp. $20.95.

KOROPECKYJ, Iwan S. Soviet Regional Economics: Selected Works of Vsevolod Holubnychy. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 562 pp. $24.95 (Can.).

KOSHELIVETS', Ivan. Rozmovy v dorozi do sebe: Fragmenty spohadiv ta inshoho. Sučasnist', 1985. 497 pp.

KOSYK, Wolodymyr, ed. Das Dritte Reich und die Ukrainische Frage:

Dokumente, 1934–1944. Munich: Ukrainisches Institute, n.d. 227 pp.

KOSYK, Volodymyr. La Politique de la France à l'égard de l'Ukraine: Mars 1917–Février 1918. Paris: University of Paris, Pantheon-Sorbonne, 1981. 304 pp.

KRAWCHENKO, Bohdan. Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. 333 pp. $27.50 (Can.).

KRAWCHENKO, Bohdan, ed. Ukraine after Shelest. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983. 120 pp. $4.95 (Can.).

KUBIJOVYČ, Volodymyr, ed. Encyclopedia of Ukraine. Vol. 1: A–F. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1984. 968 pp. $115.00 (Can.).

KUBIJOVYČ (Kubiiovych), Volodymyr. Etnichni hrupy pivdennozakhidn'oi Ukrainy (Halychyny) na 1.I.1939: Natsional'na statystyka i etnohrafichna karta. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983. 175 pp. DM 198.

KUZELA, Zeno, and Rudnyckyj, Jaroslav B., comps. Ukrainisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983. 1500 pp. DM 148.

LAMPE, John R., and Jackson, Marvin R. Balkan Economic History, 1550–1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982. 728 pp. $32.50.

LASLO-KUŢIUK (Laszlo-Kutsiuk), Mahdalyna. Velyka tradycija: Ukrains'ka klasychna literatura v porivnial'nomu vysvitlenni. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1971. 187 pp.

LASLO-KUŢIUK (Laszlo-Kutsiuk), Mahdalyna. Zasady poetyky. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1983. 395 pp.

LeDONNE, John P. Ruling Russia: Politics and Administration in the Age of Absolutism, 1762–1796. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. 410 pp. $40.00.

LEWYTZKYJ, Borys. Politics and Society in Soviet Ukraine, 1953–1980. Edited by Bohdan Krawchenko. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984. 219 pp. $14.95 (Can.).

LIEVEN, D.C.B. Russia and and the Origins of the First World War. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983. 213 pp. $25.00.

LITSAS, Fotios K., ed. A Companion to the Greek Orthodox Church: Essays and References. New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984. 324 pp. $10.00.

LONGWORTH, Philip. Alexis, Tsar of All the Russias. New York: Franklin Watts, 1984. 305 pp. $18.95.

LUBER, Suzanne. Die Herkunft von Zaporoger Kosaken des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Personennamen. Berlin: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983. 145 pp.

LUBIN, Nancy. Labour and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia: An Uneasy Compromise. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. 305 pp. $32.50.

LUCIUK, Lubomyr Y., ed. Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983. 168 pp.

LUCKYJ, George S. N. Panteleimon Kulish: A Sketch of His Life and Times. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. 227 pp. $24.00.

LUCKYJ (Luts'kyi), George S. N., ed. Vybrani lysty Panteleimona Kulisha ukrains'koiu movoiu pysani. New York and Toronto: UVAN, 1984. 325 pp.

LUKASZYK, R. et al., eds. Encyklopedia Katolicka. Vol. 4: Docent–Ezzo. Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1983. 1486 pp.

LUPININ, Nickolas. Religious Revolt in the XVIIth Century: The Schism of the Russian Church. Princeton, NJ: The Kingston Press, Inc., 1984. 227 pp. $24.00.

LUPPOV, S. P., ed. Russkie knigi i biblioteki v XVI–pervoi polovine XIX veka: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov. Leningrad: Biblioteka Akademii nauk, 1983.

LUPUL, Manoly R., ed. A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1982. 344 pp.

LUPUL, Manoly R., ed. Osvita: Ukrainian Bilingual Education. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985. 268 pp. $9.95 (Can.).

LUPUL, Manoly R., ed. Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984. 204 pp. $19.95 (Can.).

MACE, James E. Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918–1933. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983. 334 pp. $24.00.

MACKIW, Theodore. English Reports on Mazepa, Hetman of Ukraine and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, 1687–1709. New York, Munich, Toronto: Ukrainian Historical Association, 1983. 177 pp. $15.00.

MAGOCSI, Paul R. Galicia: Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide. Toronto, Buffalo, London: Published in association with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute by the University of Toronto Press, 1983. 299 pp. $24.50 (Can.).

MAGOCSI, Paul R. Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1984. 160 pp.

MAGOCSI, Paul R. The Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia: An Historical Survey. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller Verlag, 1983. 93 pp. $6.00.

MAGOCSI, Paul R. Wooden Churches in the Carpathians: The Photographs of Florian Zapletal. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller Verlag, 1982. In German and English. 176 pp. $25.00.

MAISTRENKO, Ivan. Istoriia moho pokolinnia: Spohady uchasnyka revoliutsiinykh podii v Ukraini. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985. 416 pp. $19.95 (Can.).

MALET, Michael. Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War. London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1982. 232 pp. $42.00.

MANDEL, David. The Petrograd Workers and the Fall of the Old Regime: From the February Revolution to the July Days, 1917. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983. 210 pp. $25.00.

MANNING, Roberta Thompson. The Crisis of the Old Order in Russia: Gentry and Government. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983. 555 pp. $47.50.

MARKER, Gary. Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700–1800. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985. 301 pp. $30.00.

MARKOVITS, Andrei S., and Sysyn, Frank E., eds. Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1982. 343 pp. $14.00.

McCLELLAN, David, ed. Marx: The First Hundred Years. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983. 316 pp. $19.95.

MYKYTAS', V. L. Ivan Franko—doslidnyk ukrains'koi polemichnoi literatury (XVI–XVII st.). Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1983. 222 pp.

NAIMARK, Norman M. Terrorists and Social Democrats: The Russian Revolutionary Movement under Alexander III. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983. 308 pp. $25.00.

NICHOLS, Robert I., and Stavrou, Theofanis George, eds. Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1978. 161 pp. $16.50.

OHIENKO, Ivan. Istoriia ukrains'koho drukarstva: Istorychno-bibliohrafichnyi ohliad ukrains'koho drukarstva XV–XVIII v.v. 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Research Institute of Volyn, 1983. 418 pp.

OLESKIW, Stephen. The Agony of a Nation: The Great Man-Made Famine in Ukraine, 1932–1933. London: National Committee to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Artificial Famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), 1983. 72 pp.

ORION, Iaroslav. Boh i relihiia: Osnovne pytannia. 2nd ed. Hamilton, Ont.: 1984. 407 pp.

ORION, Iaroslav. 1000-littia Khrystiianstva. Australia: Vidrodzhennia, 1983. 40 pp.

PAP, Michael S., ed. Russian Empire: Some Aspects of Tsarist and Soviet Colonial Practices. Cleveland, OH: Ukrainian Historical Association, 1985. 187 pp. $14.00.

PAVLENKO, H. I. Stanovlennia istorychnoi beletrystyky v davnii ukrains'kii literaturi. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 324 pp.

PAVLOV, V. P. Ukrains'ke radians'ke mystetstvo 1920–1930kh rokiv. Kiev: "Mystetstvo," 1983. 192 pp.

PEREDRIIENKO, V. A., ed. Likars'ki ta hospodars'ki poradnyky XVIII st.: Pam"iatky ukrains'koi movy XVIII st. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 124 pp.

PICCHIO, Riccardo, and Goldblatt, Harvey, eds., with Suzanne Fusso. Aspects of the Slavic Language Question. Vol. 1: Church Slavonic—South Slavic—West Slavic. Vol. 2: East Slavic. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1984. Vol. 1–416 pp.; vol. 2–365 pp. $35.00 each.

PINKUS, Benjamin. The Soviet Government and the Jews, 1948–1967: A Documented Study. New York, London, etc.: 1984. 612 pp. $59.50.

PODSKALSKY, Gerhard. Christentum und Theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988–1237). Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1982. 361 pp. DM 158.

POSPIELOVSKY, Dimitry. The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime, 1917–1982. 2 vols. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984. $17.95.

PROCKO, Bohdan. Ukrainian Catholics in America: A History. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1982. 184 pp. $25.00.

PROKOPOVIČ, Feofan. De Arte Rhetorica Libri X: Kijoviae 1706. Edited by Renate Lachmann, with Bernd Uhlenbruch. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1982. 515 pp. DM 96.

Propam"iatna knyha Dantsigeriv: Istorychni narysy ta spomyny kolyshnikh studentiv Politekhniky vil'noho mista Dantsigu, 1921–1945. Philadelphia, Toronto, New York: Arkhivna komisiia Dantsigeriv, 1979. 218 pp.

RADZIEJOWSKI, Janusz. The Communist Party of Western Ukraine, 1919–1929. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983. 224 pp. $14.95 (Can.).

RAEFF, Marc. The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. 284 pp. $23.50.

RAKOWSKA-HARMSTONE, Teresa, ed. Communism in Eastern Europe. 2nd ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984. 391 pp. $8.95.

RAMET, Pedro. Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1963–1983. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984. 299 pp. $27.50.

RAMET, Pedro, ed. Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1984. 282 pp. $35.00.

REVUTS'KYI, Valeriian. Neskoreni berezil'tsi: Iosyp Hirniak i Olimpiia Dobrovol's'ka. New York: Ukrainian Writers' Association in Exile "Slovo," 1985. 201 pp.

ROTHE, Hans. Sinopsis. Kiev, 1681: Facsimile mit einer Einleitung. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1983. 407 pp. DM 98.

ROUSSET, David. The Legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution. A Critical History of the USSR, 1. Translated by Alan Freeman. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. 333 pp. $27.50.

ROZUMNYJ, Jaroslav, ed. New Soil—Old Roots: The Ukrainian Experience in Canada. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 1983. 334 pp.

Russkie knigi i biblioteki v XVI–pervoi polovine XIX veka: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov. Leningrad, 1983. 160 pp.

SAUNDERS, David. The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750–1850. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985. 415 pp. $15.00 (Can.).

SCHAPIRO, Leonard, and Godson, Joseph, eds. The Soviet Worker: From Lenin to Andropov. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984. 326 pp. $29.95.

SCHAPIRO, Leonard. Turgenev: His Life and Times. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982. 382 pp. $9.95.

SCHENKER, Alexander M., and Stankiewicz, Edward, eds. The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1980. 287 pp. $18.50.

SEIDE, Gernot. Geschichte der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche im Ausland von der Gründung bis in die Gegenwart. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983. 476 pp. DM 148.

SEMENKO, Mykhail. Vybrani tvory. Vol. 2. Würzburg: Jal-reprint, 1983. 235 pp. DM 27.

SENKIV, Ivan. Die Hirtenkultur der Huzulen: Eine volkskundliche Studie. Marburg an der Lahn: Herder-Institut, 1981. 186 pp., 64 plates.

SENYK, Sophia. Women's Monasteries in Ukraine and Belorussia to the Period of Suppressions. Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 222. Rome: Pont. Inst. Studium Orientalium, 1983. 235 pp.

SENYTSIA, Pavlo, comp. Svityl'nyk istyny: Dzherela do istorii Ukrains'koi katolyts'koi bohoslovs'koi akademii u L'vovi, 1928–1929–1944. 3 vols. Toronto and Chicago: Nakl. Studentiv Bohoslovs'koi akademii, 1973, 1976.

SERCZYK, Władysław A. Na dalekiej Ukrainie: Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 roku. Cracow and Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie [1984]. 373 pp., 51 pp. illus.

SHUMUK, Danylo. Life Sentence: Memoirs of a Ukrainian Political Prisoner. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984. 401 pp. $14.95 (Can.).

SIEGELBAUM, Lewis H. The Politics of Industrial Mobilization in Russia, 1914–1917: A Study of the War-Industries Committees. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984. 312 pp. $27.50.

SNIEHIR'OV, Helii (Iehen). Naboi dlia rozstrilu ta inshi tvory. New York and Toronto: Vyd. Hrom. Kom. i "Novykh dniv," 1983. 492 pp.

SOLUKHA, Petro. Dohovir z Moskvoiu proty het'mana Pavla Skoropads'koho: Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta Mykyta Shapoval po dopomohu do Moskvy—do Lenina. 1973. 378 pp.

Specimina Philologiae Slavicae. Vols. 16, 42–46. Munich: Otto Sagner Verlag, 1982.

STANKIEWICZ, Edward. Grammars and Dictionaries of the Slavic Languages from the Middle Ages up to 1850: An Annotated Bibliography. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984. 190 pp. $59.10.

STEINER, Peter. Russian Formalism: A Metapoetics. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1984. 276 pp. $24.95.

STONE, Norman. Europe Transformed, 1878–1919. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984. 447 pp. $20.00.

STRUMINSKY, Bohdan A. Pseudo-Meleško: A Ukrainian Apocryphal Parliamentary Speech of 1615–1618. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1984. 168 pp. $21.95.

Studia Ucrainica. Vol. 2. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1984. 276 pp.

STUPKA, Mykhailo. Nad tykhym Seretom: Spohady i opovidannia. Astoria, New York: 1983. 419 pp.

Svodnyi katalog slaviano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig khraniashchikhsia v SSSR, XI–XIII vv. Moscow: "Nauka," 1984. 405 pp.

SWYRIPA, F., and Thompson, H., ed. Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983. 213 pp. $7.95.

THADEN, Edward C. Russia's Western Borderlands, 1710–1870. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985. 278 pp. $30.00.

TOEWS, John B. Czars, Soviets, and Mennonites. Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1982. 221 pp. $10.95.

TOMASZ, Jan, and Gross, Irena Grudzińska. W czterdziestym nas matko na Sybir zesłali. . . .Polska z Rosja, 1939–1942. London: ANEKS, 1983. 507 pp. $19.00.

TYCHYNA, Pavlo. Zibrannia tvoriv u dvanadtsiaty tomakh. Vol. 1: Poezii,

1906–1934. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1983.

ULASHCHYK, N. N. Vvedenie v izuchenie belorussko-litovskogo letopisaniia. Edited by V. I. Buganov. Moscow: " Nauka, " 1985. 257 pp.

VENEV, Y., ed. Dictionnaire français de l'informatique et des sciences: Anglais/ Français/ Russe. Paris: Economica, 1984. 72 pp.

Vohon' Orlynoi rady: Zhurnal novats'kykh vykhovnykiv. Edited by Teodosii Samotulka. No. 57–58, September-December 1979. 70 pp. $3.00.

VUCINICH, Alexander. Empire of Knowledge: The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1917–1970. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984. 484 pp. $29.95.

VYNNYCHENKO, Volodymyr. Shchodennyk. Vol. 1: 1911–1920. Edmonton and New York: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1980. 500 pp. $30.00 (Can.).

VYNNYCHENKO, Volodymyr. Shchodennyk. Vol. 2: 1921–1925. Edmonton and New York: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1983. 700 pp. $30.00 (Can.).

WAGNER, Rudolf. Der Parlamentarismus und nationale Ausgleich in der ehemals österreichischen Bukowina. Munich: Verlag der Südostdeutsche, 1984. 272 pp.

WAGNER, Rudolf. Die Revolutionsjahre 1848/49 im Königreich Galizien-Lodomerien (einschliesslich Bukowina): Dokumente aus österreichischer Zeit. Munich: Verlag der Südostdeutsche, 1983. 192 pp. DM 35.

WALICKI, Andrzej. Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford, 1982. 415 pp. $42.00.

WILLIAMSON, Samuel, Jr., and Pastor, Peter, eds. Essays on World War I: Origins and Prisoners of War. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. 264 pp. $25.00.

WOYCENKO (Voitsenko), Olha. Litopys ukrains'koho zhyttia v Kanadi: Doba dal'shykh konsolidatsiinykh zakhodiv i demohrafichnykh peresuviv, 1950–1959. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. 416 pp. $14.95 (Can.).

WYNAR (Vynar), Lubomyr. Avtobiohrafiia Mykhaila Hrushevs'koho z 1926 roku. New York, Munich, Toronto: Ukrainian Historical Association. 47 pp. $6.00.

WYNAR, Lubomyr R. Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj: Biobibliographische Quelle 1866–1934. Munich: Ukrainische Freie Universität, 1984. 68 pp.

YUZYK, Paul. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918–1951. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981. 210 pp.

ZASLAVSKY, Victor, and Brym, Robert J. Soviet-Jewish Emigration and Soviet Nationality Policy. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983. 185 pp. $22.50.

Zbirnyk na poshanu prof. d-ra. Volodymyra Ianeva / Symbolae in honorem Volodymyri Janiw. Munich, 1983. 1096 pp.

ZDZIECHOWSKI, Marjan. Widmo przyszłości: Szkice historyczno-publistyczne. Vilnius, 1939. Reprinted, Lausanne: 1983. 232 pp.

ZENKOVSKY, Serge A. ed. The Nikonian Chronicle from the Beginning to the Year 1132. Vol. 1. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. 255 pp.

ZHOVTOBRIUKH, M. A. Ukrains'ka literaturna mova. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1984. 254 pp.

ZIMMER, Szczepan K. The Beginning of Cyrillic Printing. Cracow, 1491. From the Orthodox Past in Poland. Edited by Ludwik Krzyżanowski and Irene Nagurski, with Krystyna M. Olszer. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, 1983. 292 pp. $26.00.